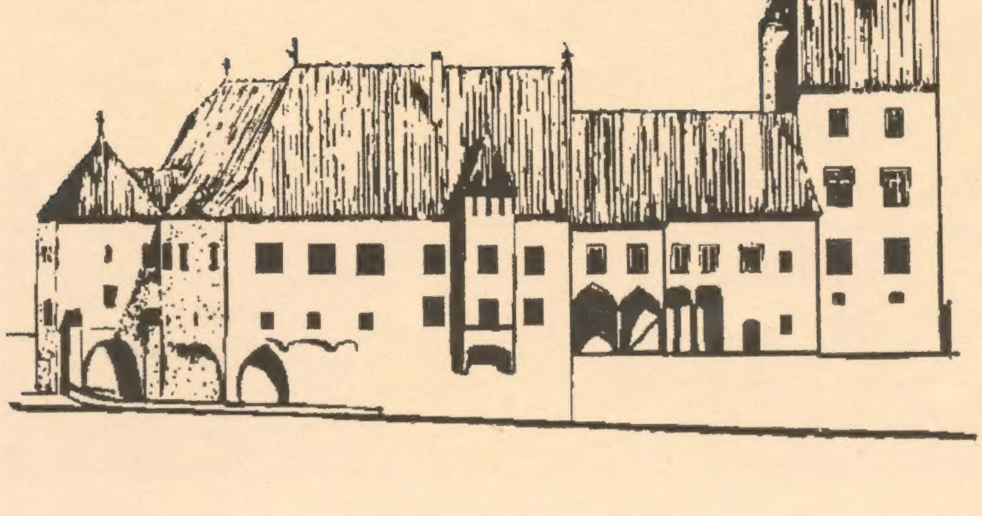
BRVKENTHAL ACTA MVSEI

VII. 1



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MUZEUL NAȚIONAL BRUKENTHAL

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ACTA MVSEI

VII. 1

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A NEW FLINT SOURCE DISCOVERED IN SIBIU COUNTY

FLORIAN DUMITRESCU CHIOAR*

Abstract: *During one field research we have found a new flint source that could have been used also by the prehistoric populations, located 5 km south-east from the city of Sibiu, in the archaeological point Dealul Dăii. It is one of the first flint sources identified in southern Transylvania.*
Keywords: *flint, Sibiu county, prehistoric stone source*

Rezumat: *În timpul unei periegheze efectuate în cursul anului 2011, am localizat o sursă de silex inedită, la 5 km sud-est de oraşul Sibiu, în punctul Dealul Dăii care e posibil să fi fost cunoscută de populaţiile preistorice. Este una din primele surse de silex identificate pentru sudul Transilvaniei.*
Cuvinte cheie: *silex, judeţul Sibiu, sursa preistorică de piatră*

The archaeological researches on the territory of Romania have shown relevant information about the usage of stone starting from Paleolithic. Referring to the “gravel culture”, Al. Păunescu noted the frequent use of flint in making tools (Păunescu 1970). Discussing about the industry of flint in the Balkan-Danubian prehistoric civilisation, one must mention that this industry is one of the most important creative manifestations of the prehistoric populations, flint being the preferred material for making tools and weapons. In this context, we would like to draw the attention on one flint source which is located approximately 5 km south-east from the city of Sibiu.

In a major work that covers Paleolithic, Epipaleolithic and Mesolithic in Romania (Cârciumaru et al 2007) for the Hârtibaciu Plateau there is no sources of flint cited (map 2). Moreover, the Archaeological Repertoire of Sibiu County does not include any area flint sources for Paleolithic or Neolithic sites (Luca et al 2003). Regarding the flint sources used by early Neolithic populations, there are mentioned several areas of origin of flint, among which we must mention the Banat flint which is often mentioned, but also the flint sources located south of the Danube (Biagi, Starnini 2010). Hârtibaciu Plateau is not mentioned as a possible source area of flint.

The archaeological point that we discovered is known by the name of *Dealul Dăii* and it is located in the region of the Hârtibaci Plateau (after the name of the Hârtibaci river that divide the highland into two separate sides), as main and southern part of a bigger relief unit, the Târnave highland (maps 1, 3). It is a region with the height of maximum 650 m (this altitude level is surpassed only in one case, Râpile Hill, which reaches 711 m) (Badea et al 1971, p. 60). The erosion has advanced rapidly in less consistent rocks of Neocene age, composed of a succession of marnes, sands, sandy clay, stones (photos 1-2) so that, in some regions the Pannonian structures have been completely removed. At the surface there are older Sarmatian structures, which have the same consistency (Badea et al 1971, p. 61).
The archaeological point *Dealul Dăii* was identified during a field research, in 2011, in by the archaeologists of the Brukenthal National Museum (Natea Gheorghe and Florian Dumitrescu-Chioar). In the left side of the Agnita-Sibiu road, right across the Bavaria residential area was observed a quarry. Along the road that connects this quarry with the county road we found a big number of flint cores. After analyzing the profile of the hill the stratigraphy can be easily seen. In the gravel area in the center of career area

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were identified flint cores and lumps of yellow ocher (Photo 1-2). Both the upper and lower strip of gravel is fine-grained sand (probably this is the reason for which the quarry is still functional). The reason why the flint cores were identified on the wayside at the relative distance from the quarry (250 m) is due to the development works carried out around the quarry. The stones were laid on the sides of the road that makes the connection between quarry and the county road.

Flint has the advantages of lamellar detaching with curved percussion and facial processing by retouching, being easily processed by hacking. Of all the flint cores presented above, none of them have traces of processing from prehistoric times, the ones that can be traced in the photos being made either by us to in order to check the quality of the flint cores and or by natural mechanical action, in the case of old cracks. In conclusion we can say that the flint cores we discovered near the quarry from *Dealul Dăii* are o f a very good quality, and they could have been used by prehistoric populations therefore we propose this archaeological point as a possible source of flint. We hope that the cooperation with geologists that are getting more and more involved in archaeological diggings will prove this statement.

Acknowledgements:
I would like to thank Gheorghe Vasile Natea and Raluca Maria Teodorescu for their help during this research and Tina Martis from the *Banat Museum* in Timişoara for the drawings of the flint cores (pl. 1-12).

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Luca *et al.* 2003	Sabin Adrian Luca, Karl Zeno Pinter, Adrian Georgescu, *Repertoriul arheologic al judeţului Sibiu*. In: *Bibliotheca Septemcastrensis,* III (2003).
Păunescu 1970	Alexandru Paunescu, *Evolutia uneltelor si armelor din piatra cioplita descoperite pe teritoriul României*, Bucureşti (1970).

ILLUSTRATION LIST / LISTA ILUSTRAŢIILOR

Map 1. Positioning of the archaeological point *Dealul Dăii* on the phisical map of Romania

Map 2. Map of the flint sources in Romania

Map 3.Positioning of *Dealul Dăii* archaeological point on the geographical map of Sibiu county

Photos 1-2. Photos of the quarry from *Dealul Dăii*

Pl 1-13. Flint cores from *Dealul Dăii*

Harta 1. Poziţionarea punctului *Dealul Dăii* pe harta fizică a României

Harta 2. Harta surselor de silex din România

Harta 3. Poziţionarea punctului *Dealul Dăii* pe harta judeţului Sibiu

Foto 1 – 2. Fotografii ale carierei de piatră

Pl. 1-13. Galeţi provenind din sursa de silex de pe Dealul Dăii

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DESCRIPTION OF FIGURES:

Flint core no.1: oval shape, slightly uneven; the cortex has a polished aspect in patches; cortex colour - dark brown; core colour – honey; good quality. It was intentionaly broken by us to verify the quality of the core. L - 14 cm; l - 12 cm; H-5,5 cm (pl. 1-2).

Flint core no 2:oval shape, slightly uneven; the cortex is non smooth; cortex colour – dark grey, core colour – dark brown; good quality. It was intentionaly broken by us to verify the quality of the core. L – 10 cm; l – 6,5 cm; h – 5 cm (pl. 3-4).

Flint core no.3: uneven shape, the cortex is rough, but has smooth sides in patches. Cortex colour coffee-colored, with grey intrusions; core colour - light brown with small yellow and wittish intrusions; average quality, less fine then the ones mentioned above. It was found broken. L – 10,5 cm; l – 7 cm; h – 6 cm (pl. 5).

Flint core no.4: uneven shape, the cortex has a general smooth aspect, rough in patches. The core has a hole that penetrates the artifact from one side to the other. Cortex and core colour - witish grey. The core has also sand intrusions; average quality. L – 8 cm; l – 9 cm; h – 5 cm (pl. 6).

Flint core no.5: regular shape, the cortex has a general rough aspect, smooth in patches and two holes of natural causes. Cortex colour -brown; core colour dark brown with black intrusions; good quality. L – 12 cm; l – 11 cm; h – 9 cm (pl. 7).

Flint core no.6: uneven shape, the cortex has a general rough aspect, smooth in patches, having some natural cracks. Cortex colour light brown; core colour –whittish grey; good quality. L – 7 cm; l – 6 cm; h – 4 cm (pl. 8).

Flint core no.7: uneven shape, the cortex has a rough aspect, grained in patches and a hole of natural causes. Cortex colour – light and dark brown; core colour – dark grey; bad quality. L – 11 cm; l – 6 cm; h – 5 cm (pl. 9).

Flint core no.8: uneven shape, the cortex has a smooth aspect and big holes and cracks of natural causes. Cortex colour - – light and dark brown; core colour – whittish grey; good quality. L – 12 cm; l – 11 cm; h – 7 cm (pl. 10).

Flint core no.9: uneven shape, the cortex has a general rough aspect, smooth in patches with holes and cracks of natural causes. Cortex colour – whittish grey and honey collour; core collour – grey; good quality. L – 11 cm; l – 10 cm; h – 8 cm (pl. 11).

Flint core no.10: regular shape, the cortex has a general rough aspect, smooth in patches with cracks of natural causes. It was intentionaly broken by us to verify the quality of the core. Cortex colour – blackish and whittish grey and whittish grey; core collour – whittish grey; good quality. L – 14 cm; l – 11 cm; h – 8 cm (pl. 12).

Flint core no.11: regular shape, the cortex has a general rough aspect, smooth in patches with cracks of natural causes. Cortex and core collour honey; good quality. L – 13 cm; l – 10 cm; h – 8 cm (pl. 13).

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Flint core no.12: uneven shape; the cortex has a smooth aspect, rough only in patches, with natural cracks. Cortex collour este blackish grey and honey; core collour dark grey; good quality.. L – 5 cm; l – 3,5 cm; h – 2 cm (pl. 13).

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Map 1

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Map 2

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Fig. 2. – Unitățile de relief din județul Sibiu

1. Munții alcătuiți din roci cristaline, fragmentați de văi adînci, cu vîrfuri de peste 2 500 m și cu dezvoltare puternică a formelor glaciare (circuri, custuri, trepte, văi glaciare); *2*. munți din roci cristaline cu forme netezite ca resturi din suprafețele de nivelare etajate de la 800-900 m pînă la peste 2 000 m; *3*. depresiune intramontană de obîrșie datorată eroziunii; *4*. podiș alcătuit din roci sedimentare mio-pliocene, ușor cutate, fragmentat în dealuri cu înălțimi de peste 600 m; *5*. dealuri sculptate pe formațiuni cristaline și sedimentare, făcînd trecerea de la treapta munților la depresiunile de la nord; *6*. dealuri formînd înșeuări; *7*. dealuri joase sub formă de gruiuri prelungi și suprafețe netezite (terase) aparținînd depresiunilor; *8*. lunci și terase aluviale joase; *9*. defilee.

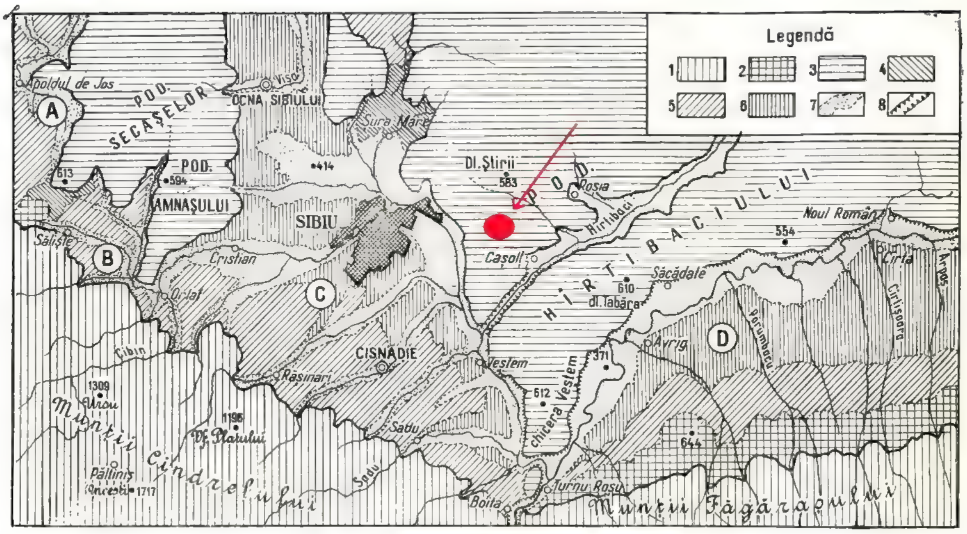

Fig. 13. – Schița depresiunilor din județul Sibiu. *(A,B,C,D)*.
1, Munți alcătuiți din roci cristaline; *2*, dealuri înalte la contactul dintre munte și depresiuni; *3*, podiș format din roci sedimentare puțin rezistente la eroziune; *4*, dealuri domoale formînd înșeuări; *5*, dealuri joase sub formă de gruiuri (piemontane), prelungi, aparținînd depresiunilor; *6*, terase aluviale; *7*, șesuri aluviale inundabile (lunci); *8*, defilee.

Map 3.

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Photos 1-2. Photos of the quarry from *Dealul Dăii*

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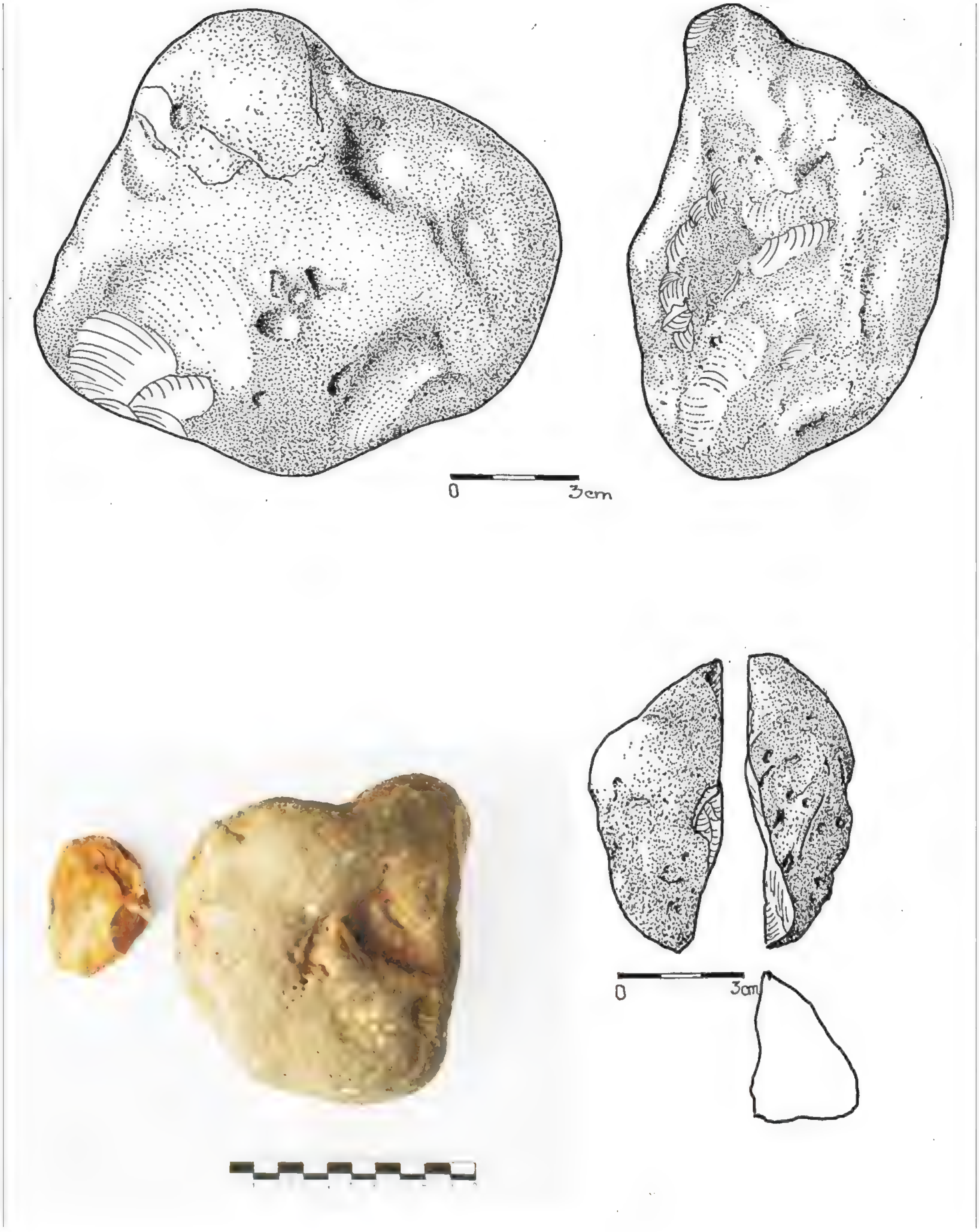

Pl. 1. Flint cores from *Dealul Dăii*

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Pl. 2. Flint cores from *Dealul Dăii*

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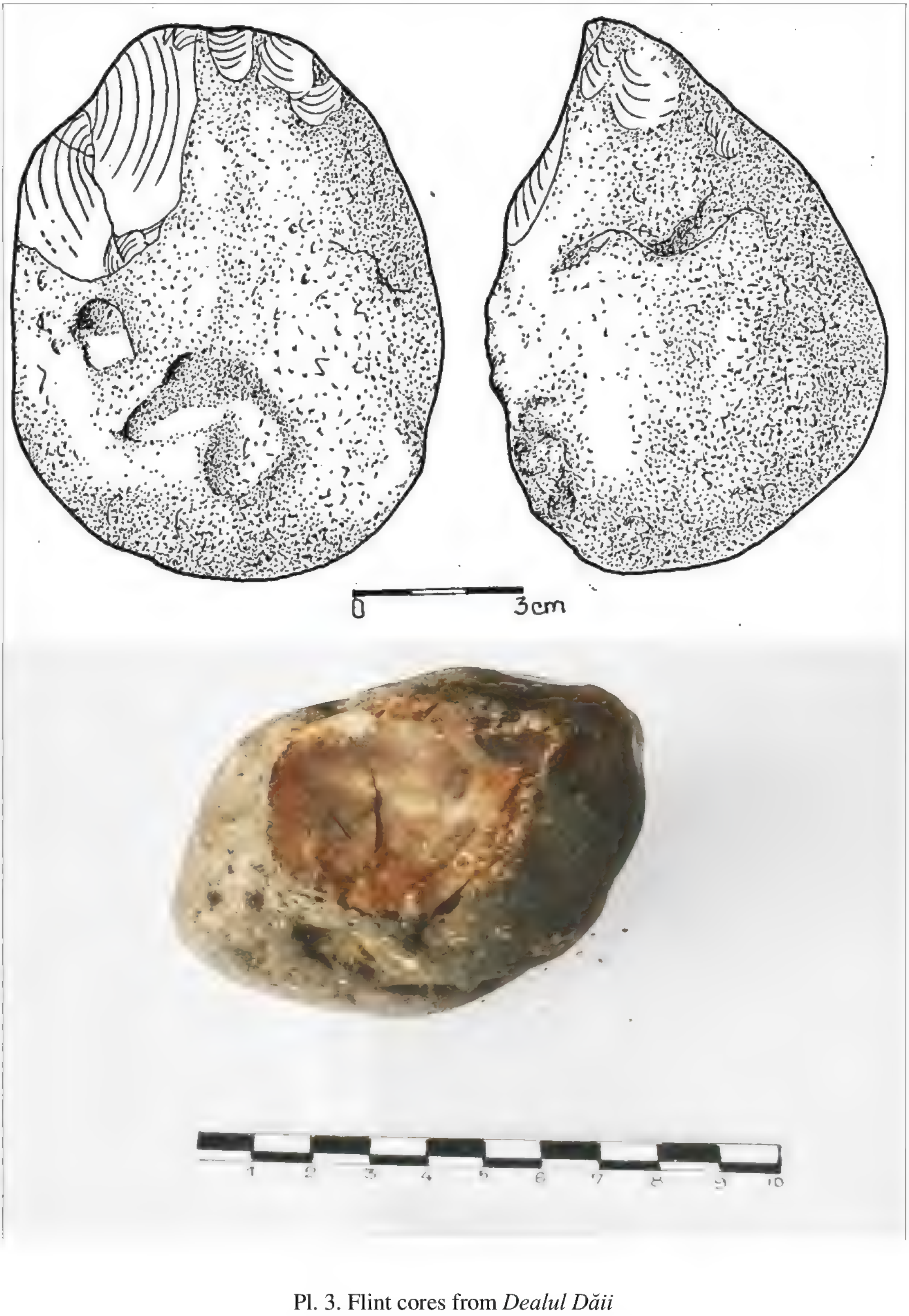

Pl. 3. Flint cores from *Dealul Dăii*

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Pl. 4 Flint cores from *Dealul Dăii*

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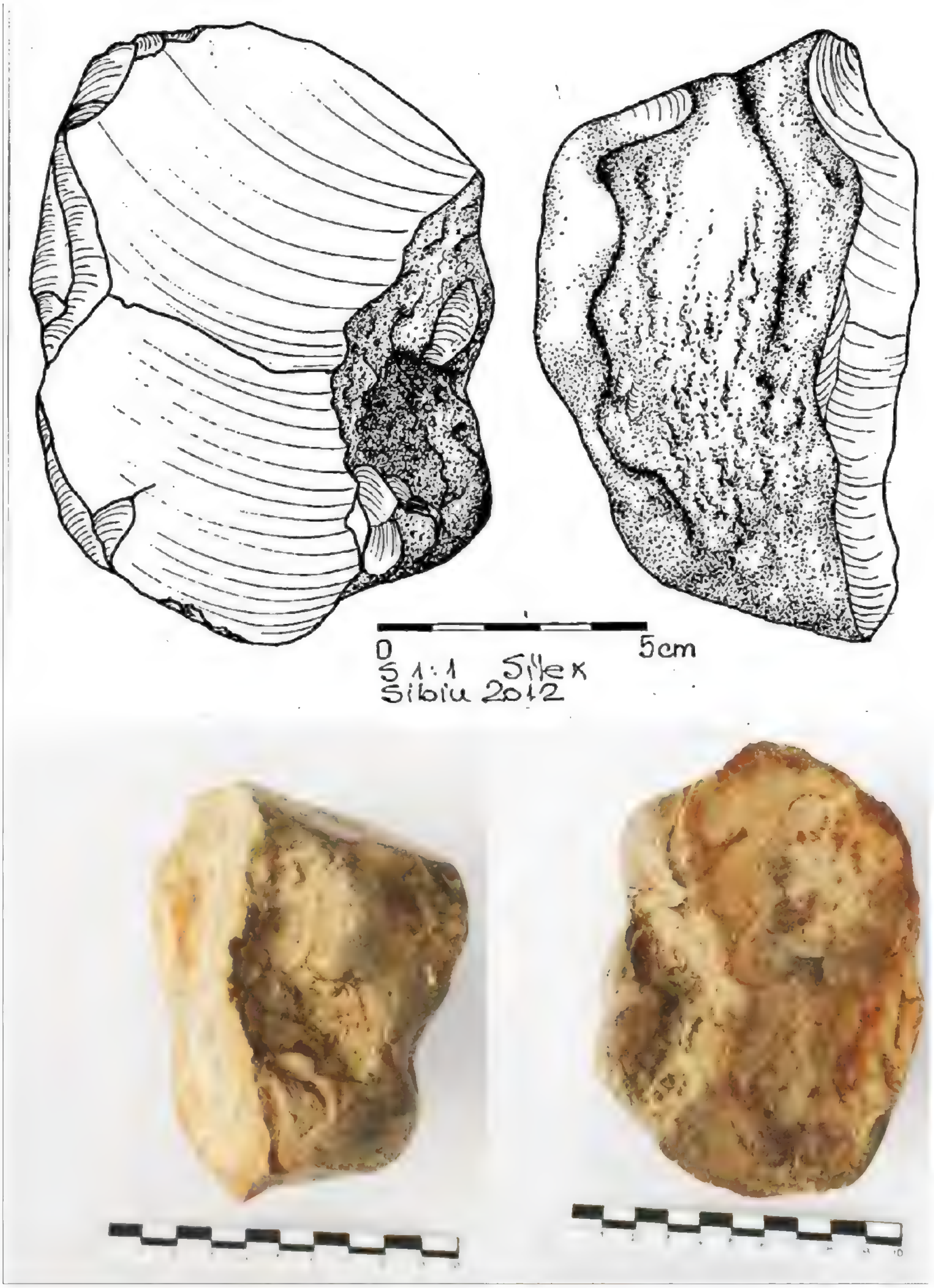

Pl. 5. Flint cores from *Dealul Dăii*

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Pl. 6. Flint cores from *Dealul Dăii*

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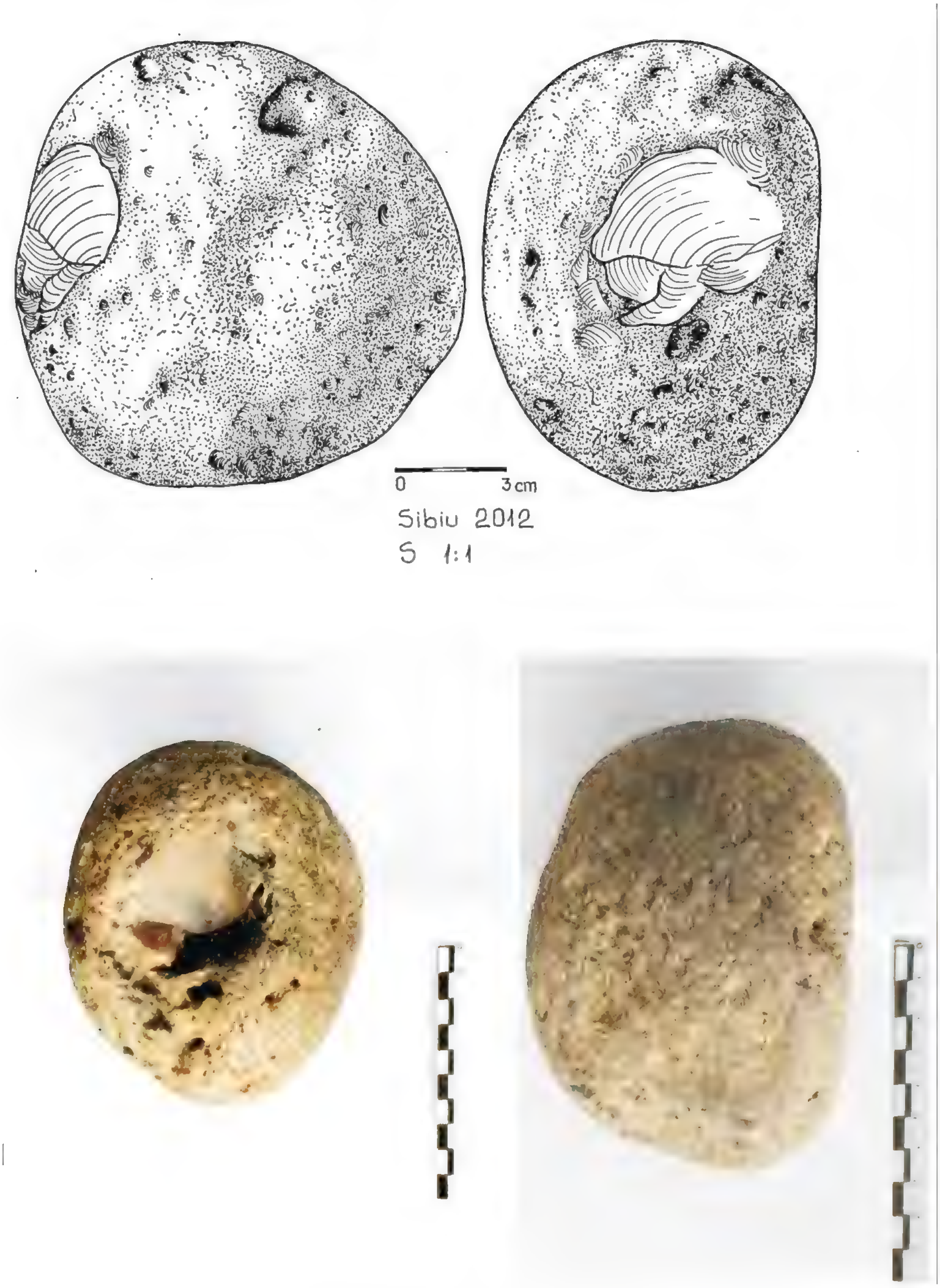

Pl. 7. Flint cores from *Dealul Dăii*

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Pl. 8. Flint cores from *Dealul Dăii*

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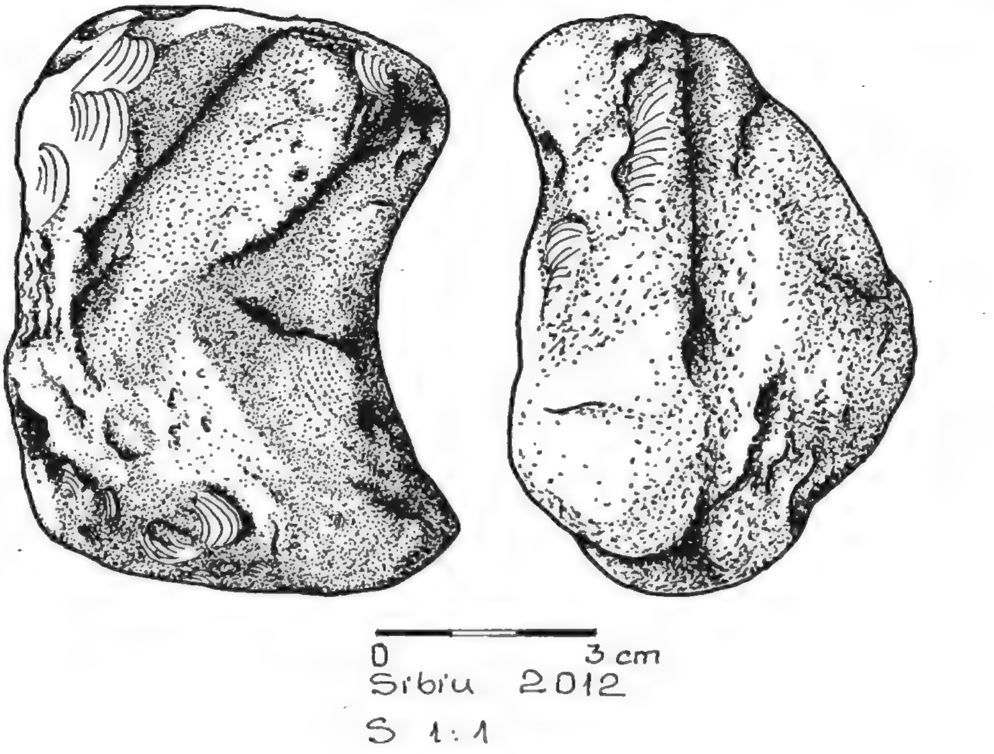

Pl. 9. Flint cores from *Dealul Dăii*

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Pl. 10. Flint cores from *Dealul Dăii*

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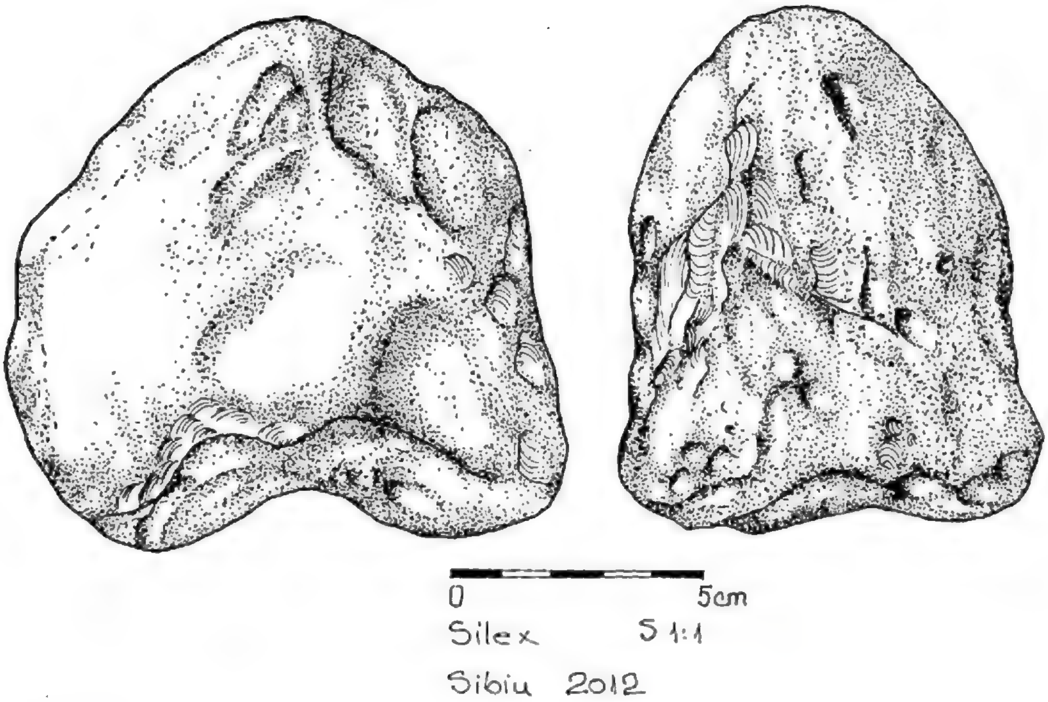

Pl. 11. Flint cores from *Dealul Dăii*

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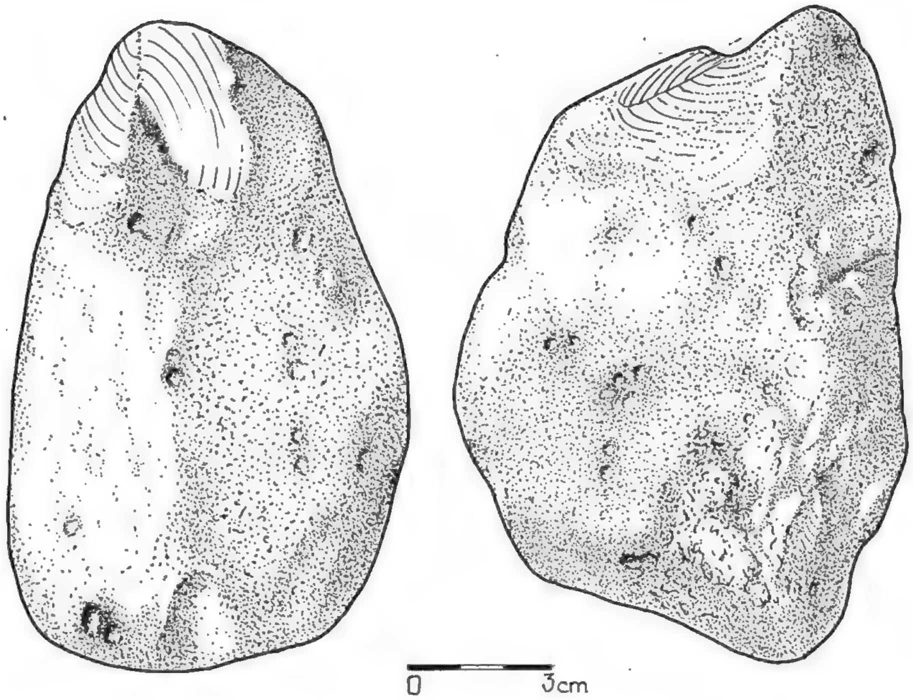

Pl. 12. Flint cores from *Dealul Dăii*

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Pl. 13. Flint cores from *Dealul Dăii*

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A CONCISE HISTORY OF RESEARCHES CONCERNING STARČEVO-CRIŞ CULTURE IN TRANSYLVANIA

Anamaria TUDORIE*

Abstract: *The history of researches concerning Starčevo-Criş culture can't be limited in describing only the main archeological sites that were excavated or the name of the archeologists that influenced the studies of this period. This author took in consideration also other aspects in the matter: different ideas and theories about the origins of Neolithic, the problem of the Aceramic Neolithic in Romania, the chronological systemselaborated for this period and the main archeological researches.*
Keywords: *Starčevo-Criş culture, early Neolithic, Transylvania*

Rezumat: *Istoricul cercetărilor privind cultura Starčevo-Criş nu poate fi descris, în mod limitat, prin prisma principalelor situri arheologice săpate ori prin personalitățile care au marcat studiul acestei perioade. În demersul nostru am abordat mai multe aspecte: diferitele idei şi teorii cu privire la originea neoliticului, problema neoliticului aceramic în România, sisteme cronologice elaborate pentru această perioadă, precum şi principalele cercetări arheologice.*
Cuvinte cheie: *cultura Starčevo-Criş, neolitic timpuriu, Transilvania*

1. The Neolithic's Origins

The beginning of the Neolithic represents a real phenomenon, marked by profound transformations and innovations: the pottery production, a new way of providing and storing the food, demographic growth, building durable houses, a change in the field of religious beliefs. Also, there are some modifications and improvements in the stone processing techniques, as John Lubbock very well noted in the 19th century when he published *Prehistoric Times* (Tattersall 2008, 115) and named this period Neolithic (gr. *neos* – new, *lithos* – stone). Among the specialists was discussed the idea of naming this era *Keramikum*, because of the major role of the pottery. The discovery of some Aceramic Neolithic settlements in The Near East made the researchers to abandon the idea. Then, the archeologists tried to answer the question whether if all the changes that marked Neolithic happened in the same time, producing what Vere Gordon Childe named "the Neolithic revolution" (Childe 1966, 82), or this actions appeared one after an other, in different stages, a phenomenon starting before an other.

Two theories concerning the Neolithic's genesis were stated: *the migrationist model* and *the autochthonous model* (Garašanin M. 1982, 82). Recently, foreign researchers have developed a third one, a more moderate perspective: *the integrated model* (Zvelebil 2001, 3-4; Vlachos 2003, 132-133).

There is no kind of evidence that the first Neolithic groups of people have been forced to move because of a demographic saturation (Zvelebil 2001, 4; Kozłovski, Nowak 2007, 107). It is highly probable that this movement was connected with a climatic oscillation, the first part of Holocene – the geologic period that has begun about 10.000 years ago and continues until present day (Cârciumaru 1996, 5) – is being marked with repeating series of climatic anomalies around 8200, 5200, 4200, 3500, 1200 and 600 calBP (Budja 2007, 191).

In what concerns the way that the Neolithic's main characteristics have evolved, even thought most of the specialists agree with the migrationist model, they don't necessarily have the same vision in explaining the transition from one period to another.

The first Neolithic human groups that appeared in Romania were those belonging to Starčevo-Criş culture (Berciu 1958, 12-13; Vlassa 1966, 47; Dumitrescu 1970, 192; Lazarovici 1971, 18; Vlassa 1972, 27; Draşovean 1981, 33; Lazarovici 1992, 27; Ciută 2002, 3-4; Lazarovici 2005, 45; Luca 2006a, 11; Luca *et al.* 2010a, 103).

After the growth of archaeological sites belonging to Early Neolithic from Romania increased,

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researchers like Nicolae Vlassa (Vlassa 1966, 46; Vlassa 1972, 24), Gheorghe Lazarovici (Lazarovici 1969, 8; Lazarovici 1975, 8; Lazarovici 1983a, 16; Lazarovici 2005, 47), Vladimir Dumitrescu (Dumitrescu 1970, 199), Eugen Comşa (Comşa 1978, 12), Florin Draşovean (Draşovean 1981, 34), Sabin Adrian Luca (Luca 1999a, 6; Luca 2004, 13; Luca 2006b, 25), Nicolae Ursulescu (Ursulescu 1998-2000, 283-294; Ursulescu 2000, 16-17) demonstrated their connections with the same phenomena in Thessaly (Protosesklo, Sesklo), Macedonia (Nea Nicomedea, Vîrsnic, Anzabegovo), Bulgaria (Karanovo-Kremicovici), Serbia (Starčevo), Hungary (Körös). In this region, Early Neolithic has a unitary evolution, with some regional specific aspects.

During 1950's the idea that Neolithic appeared in the same time in different parts of the globe (autochthonous elements contributing in the becoming of the new cultures) was enounced, and by the end of 1960's this hypotheses begun to have a higher number of sustainers.

One of them is Dragoslav Srejović. In his opinion, Danube's central area was intensely populated in the 9th and 8th millennium. There existed the optimal conditions for the new type of economy, based on production, to appear (Srejović 1988a, 13).

Vladimir Dumitrescu was supportive at beginning with this theory but, as himself admitted later, he didn't took in account the fact that the cereals that were brought from Anatolia didn't exist as wild in Europe and not even the first domesticated animals, excepting the dog (Dumitrescu 1970, 192-193; Dumitrescu *et al.* 1982, 14).

Marija Gimbutas was one of the most ardent sustainers of the independent debut of Neolithic in the Balkan Peninsula. Even though she couldn't establish the nature of the impulse which produced the Neolithic civilization in this zone, she was certain that the Neolithisation phenomena wasn't a provincial reflection of the evolutions from Near East and explained the cultural transformations as a result of spreading knowledge and ideas through trading and communications and not through a migrationist process (Gimbutas 1989, 52-55).

After analyzing the discoveries from the Iron Gates region: Schela Cladovei, Ostrovul Banului, Răzvrata, Icoana, Veterani-*Terasă*, Aliberg, Lepenski Vir, Haidučka Vodenica, Vlasac, Padina, Vasile Boroneanţ considered that the evolution from Mesolithic to Neolithic was determined by climate warming and ecological changes in this geographic aria. Due to these transformations and the experiences accumulated, human communities evolved from hunting and gathering to cultivating plants and domesticating animals. In the same time they begun to polish stone and because the amount of products increased, a need for sedentary life appeared. Vasile Boroneanţ believes that the passing to Neolithic has not occurred only in one place, but on wider geographical spaces. All this process could have been a longer or a shorter one, from case to case (Boroneanţ 1973, 21; Boroneanţ 1980, 27-37).

In this author's opinion the Neolithic impulse came from Anatolia, spreading through the Aegean and Balkans aria and then to the north Danubian region. The innovations brought by the southern communities have decisively influenced the Mesolithic ones, but it is also true that the old inhabitants managed to transmit and impose certain elements, like different technologies chipped stone tools processing.

One of Neolithic's fundamental attributes is agriculture which implied also other transformations for the human communities. It is a new way of life by discovering, for starter, the alternative methods in food providing, with an incipient agricultural system: growing plants and domesticating animals. This is the main element that certifies the existence of a Neolithic life and also the existence of durable houses.

2. Aceramic Neolithic in Romania?

For a long period of time historians believed that Neolithic is strictly connected with the production of ceramics. As already pointed out above, pottery wasn't for Early Neolithic the most important element.

Impelled by the discoveries from the Near East, Vladimir Milojčić asserted that this kind of situations should appear also on Greece's territory. After the researches from Argissa all his hopes seemed to be confirmed (Berciu 1958, 91-92). Dimitris Theocharis identified the existence of a preceramic Neolithic in Sesklo, Soufli, Achileion, Gediki and in 1964 Arthur Evans published the aceramic levels form Knosos (Perlès 2004, 64).

In the beginning of 1970's, after studying all this proves, John Nandriş contested the existence of an aceramic Neolithic. In the same time Marija Gimbutas started new excavations at Achileion, having one goal: to identify the aceramic

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Neolithic level. After this researches, the presence of aceramic Neolithic couldn't be proved. The levels considered to be aceramic were pretty difficult to distinguish from the levels with pottery (Bailey 2000, 78).

Not even in the last synthesis concerning the Early Neolithic from Greece this problem couldn't be solved remaining an opened issue for the specialists (Perlès 2004, 64-65).

During 1950-1960, due to the discoveries made in Anatolia and the results claimed by Vladimir Milojčić for Thessaly, Romanian researchers believed that Aceramic Neolithic should be soon discovered in Romania too. This idea was stated by researchers like Dumitru Berciu (Berciu 1958) or C.S. Nicolăescu Plopşor (Nicolăescu-Plopşor 1959).

When publishing information about Aceramic Neolithic in Balkans zone, Nicolăescu Plopşor appoints some discoveries from Romania, like Herculane-*Peştra Hoţilor*, Giurgiu-*Malu Roşu*, Ceahlău-*Dârţu*, Cremenea şi Cleanov-*Fiera* to be chronological situated in Aceramic Neolithic period (Nicolăescu-Plopşor 1959, 222). In the evolutionary scheme for the Romanian Neolithic Dumitru Berciu presents a Protoneolithic period and also a Protoneolithic aceramic which "remains to be stated more precisely in the future". The discoveries from *Dârţu*-Ceahlău and Cremenea are, in his opinion, part of the "ceramic Protoneolithic" (Berciu 1961, 13).

Five years later, the same author confirms the existence on Aceramic Neolithic in Romania, even though there were no discoveries of wooden or stone pots from a period before the use of ceramics. Their existence was only supposed. Based on the discoveries from Berea (Maramureş County), Erbiceni (Iaşi County), *La Adam* Cave from Dobrogea, the existence of this horizon in Romania is established (Berciu 1966, 38, 42-47). Alexandru Păunescu also was favorable to the idea of including the discoveries from Ciumeşti and Erbiceni in the category of Aceramic Neolithic assemblages but only if the fauna determinations would prove the presence of domesticated animals (Păunescu 1964, 328).

After analyzing the situations mentioned above Vladimir Dumitrescu proved the impossibility for these discoveries to belong to Aceramic Neolithic. Even though pottery doesn't represent a *sine qua non* element, he considered mandatory the presence of some proves about agriculture presence (animal domestication, growing plants) or a certain stability of habitation in order to attribute these discoveries to Neolithic (Dumitrescu 1970, 187-200; Dumitrescu, Vulpe 1988, 29; *** 2001, 122).

Another discussion about the existence of Aceramic Neolithic in Romania started from the discoveries made by Iuliu Paul at Ocna Sibiului (Sibiu County). During some researches made in 1960 in the place called *La Roghină*, situated near by *Faţa Vacilor* point. Here, two cultural layers separated by archeological sterile strata were identified. The first layer, where flint scrapers and stoned-bones have been found, could belong either to Epipaleolithic period or Aceramic Neolithic. Due the fact that there were no other elements to indicate the belonging of these artifacts to the Aceramic Neolithic so they are considered to be Epipaleolithic (Luca 2006a, 12).

A special case in what concerns the Europe's Neolithisation process is represented by the Iron Gate's region, a distance of 230 km along the Danube, situated at the boarder between Romania and Serbia, also known as Djertap. Historians have different opinions about how Neolithic appeared in this area and the contacts with the Mesolithic people. The idea that this space was used as a refuge for Mesolithic communities, after the Neolithic ones appeared in the center and north of Balkans, persists among the specialists. Some of them believe that Neolithic is equivalent with the agriculture start, other believe that Neolithic is related with the first pottery (Bonsall 2007, 53). Although there were discovered many small axes made of deer bones belonging to the Mesolithic strata, they could have been used only for gathering some plants considering also the fact that the soil in that area is quite sandy (Păunescu 1970, 34).

Until this moment, on Romania's territory, the existence of an Aceramic Neolithic as it appears in Near East, in discoveries like the ones from Jerichon, Hacilar or Jarmo hasn't been confirmed.

3. Terminology

The Romanian historians used in the first phase the name *Criş* to define Early Neolithic on Romania's territory, after translating the term *Körös* (Lazarovici 1977a, 32; Draşovean 1981, 33; Ciută 2005, 10), the place where the first characteristics discoveries from Hungary were made, although this culture spreads into a much wider space then Körös rivers basins (Kutzian 1947, 1).

Before the name Körös to be adopted, in Hungary, this culture was known as *Tisza III* culture,

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belonging to Late Neolithic. In 1932 J. Banner wrote a paper which included all the studies about Körös culture but, from the chronological point of view, he placed it at the end of the Neolithic Age and also the name given was wrong: third period of the Tisza culture. For Hungary, at that moment, a clear stratigraphical situation was missing and the stratigraphy from the site of Vinča was published only in 1932 and 1936. Gyula Kisléghy Nagy was the first who noticed that in spite of Neolithic's aspect of the material it was different from the one called Tisza, and afterwards Krecsmárik used the name of Körös culture (Kutzian 1947, 1-2).

In Romania, Ioan Nestor also called in 1950 this culture *Tisa* and, based on the discoveries from Glăvăneştii Vechi, considers it to be posterior to Linear Pottery culture. The same idea was sustained by Eugen Comşa in a scientific communication from 1951 (Petrescu-Dâmboviţa 1957, 67).

The composed term of *Starčevo-Criş* appeared in the Romanian historiography in the period 1950-1960 (Berciu 1959, 75; Berciu 1961a, 104-105). The term *Starčevo* comes from a locality near Pančevo, in Serbia, where the first archeological materials of this kind appeared (*** 1960, 38, Berciu 1961, 12-13; Vlassa 1966, 47; Dumitrescu 1970, 192; Vlassa 1972, 27; Draşovean 1981, 33; Dumitrescu, Vulpe 1988, 30; Lazarovici 1992, 27; Minichreier 2001, 201; Ciută 2002, 3-4; Budja 2004, 238; Lazarovici 2005, 45).

Gheorghe Lazarovici adopts the name *Starčevo-Criş* and beginning with his first studies he indicates the fact that, for Banat's zone, the evolution of this culture is identical with the one from the former Yugoslavia, Starčevo-Criş culture being a part of the great cultural complex Presesklo-Starčevo-Kremiković-Körös-Criş-Karavovo I (Lazarovici 1969, 3, 26; Lazarovici 1977a, 31).

In Romanian but also in foreign literature new tentative to define the beginning of the Neolithisation process with different terms: *Gura-Baciului-Cârcea group/horizon*; *Cârcea group*, *Gura-Baciului-Cârcea culture* exists (Lazarovici 1992, 27). During its evolutionary phases the Early Neolithic in Romania and also in the Balkans aria presents some regional particularities. This fact would justify the use of some notions like *group*: Anzabegovo-Vršnik group, Körös group, Karanovo group or *style*: Körös style, Karanovo style. Each group is being distributed into different geographical zones and the diversity was produced in the bases on which this cultural groups were formed, but also by the external cultural influences (Garašanin 1975, 20).

In order to define Early Neolithic discoveries, some archeologist use terms like *monochrome*, *white-painted pottery*, *barbotin* or *impresso* but, most of the times, under one name there are many stages of one phase or maybe more phases. In this way the researchers took into account only some color or ceramic texture characteristics, without discussing other elements that particularize the discovery (Lazarovici, Lazarovici 2006, 63).

Gheorghe Lazarovici considers that using the name Starčevo-Criş doesn't imply a geographical limitation between the former Yugoslavia and Romania, the two countries where the name comes from. The culture must be considered by its unity of objects: pottery (shapes, ornamentations, and texture), tools, figurines and type of houses (Lazarovici 1984, 49-50).

After some earlier discoveries that the ones form Starčevo appeared, many archeologist considered that they have to revise the terminology. Between 1960-1970, when researchers referred themselves at the earliest materials, they used terms like *Pre-Criş* or *Proto-Criş* and between 1970 and 1980 they used the names *Proto-Starčevo I* and *II*, *Monochrome*, *Donja-Branjevina group*, *Gura Baciului-Cârcea group*. In this way the earliest Neolithic culture was named *Proto-Starčevo* and it represented the base on which "Middle" Neolithic's culture – Starčevo culture – shall form. Some of the sites chronological set to be Proto-Starčevo were: Divostin, Grivac, Donja Branjevina, Rudnik, Drenovac or Valesnica. For the Iron Gates region the Lepenski-Vir culture was transformed into Proto-Starčevo only in the moment when the domestication of plants or animals comes out of the ritual context and all the products obtained are shared with the whole community. Lepenski Vir-Schela Cladovei culture has in this case three phases of evolution: I – the appearance of these communities, II – the stabilization of early Neolithic communities, III – the final phase of the culture, when these communities went South, to Macedonia and Thessaly, where they cause a "little crisis" into the local culture and giving birth to "Pre-Sesklo" culture (Srejović 1988, 12-13). All this arguments were developed to sustain, of course, the autochthonous theory.

In a study about Starčevo-Criş culture from Moldova, published in 1983, Eugenia Popuşoi pleaded for the use in all the Romanian territory,

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of a unitary terminology, being supportive with the idea to use the name *Starčevo-Criş culture,* as Gheorghe Lazarovici already initiated for Banat, considering that the name Criş culture was old-fashioned (Popuşoi 1983, 48).

One of the Romanian researchers who didn't agree with the use of the name *Starčevo-Criş* is Vasile Boroneanţ. In his opinion, the evolution of this civilization presents, on Romania's territory, tree periods: the arrival, the acclimatization, the generalization (Lazarovici 1979, 19). Unfortunately he didn't take into account the discoveries from Leţ and Gura Baciului and he sustained the fact that the first level from Cuina Turcului and Climene's Cave and the early phase discoveries from Ostrovul Banului belong to the "arrival period". Starting with the second phase new formes appear and only with the third one "of synthesis and generalization" can be used the name *Starčevo-Criş* (Lazarovici 1971, 18-19).

The most vehement discussions from the Romanian historiography appeared at once with the need to define the Neolithisation process, marked by the Early Neolithic discoveries from Gura Baciului – Cluj County (Vlassa 1968; Vlassa 1972, 7-28; Lazarovici, Maxim 1995), Cârcea – Dolj County (Nica 1976; Nica 1981; Nica 1983; Nica 1984; Nica 1991, 88; Nica 1995; Nica, Rădoiescu 2007), Ocna Sibiului – Sibiu County (Paul 1981, 17-19; Paul 1989) and more recently the ones from Şeuşa – Alba County (Ciută 1998; Ciută *et al.* 1999; Ciută 2000; Ciută 2005, 152-153) and Miercurea Sibiului – Sibiu County (Luca *et al.* 2003, 140; Luca 2004; Luca, Suciu 2004, 11-15; Luca, Suciu 2007, 78-79; Luca *et al.* 2004a; Luca *et al.* 2005; Luca *et al.* 2006; Luca *et al.* 2007; Luca *et al.* 2007a; Luca *et al.* 2008; Luca *et al.* 2008a, Luca *et al.* 2009; Luca *et al.* 2009a; Luca *et al.* 2010).

The importance of the discoveries from Gura Baciului and Cârcea is demonstrated also by the use, sometimes in a different way, of the notion *Gura Baciului-Cârcea.* It could indicate a cultural group, a phenomenon, a Balkan-Anatolian horizon, a Protosesklo horizon or different cultural and chronologic synchronism with Protosesklo, with Protostarčevo I, with Linear A from Vojvodina, or with Donja Branjevina (Lazarovici, Maxim 1995, 3-4). In order to define the neolitization phenomena from Romania there have been set different notions: *Gura Baciului horizon*, *Gura Baciului-Cârcea phase*, or *Gura Baciului-Cârcea culture,* as it appears in the last synthesis of Romanian History (***2001, 121). The term given by Nicolae Vlassa for defining the beginning of the Neolithisation process was *Gura Baciului Horizon I* (GB I) (Lazarovici, Maxim 1995, 4), the *horizon* being one or more cultural layers, with the same origins and age (Lazarovici 2005, 55).

Iuliu Paul didn't consider the Early Neolithic's evolution to be a unitary one, this being the reason why the name of *Starčevo-Criş culture* can't be justified for defining the first phase of the Neolithisation process. *Protosesklo Horizon* on Romania's territory represents in his opinion a distinct culture, called *Precriş* (Paul 1981, 11; Ciută 2005, 120). This point of view is also sustained by Marius Ciută who indicates as an origin place for this phenomenon the south of the Balkan Peninsula (Protosesklo culture). Because Precriş culture is situated, from a chronological point of view before Starčevo-Criş (Ciută 2000, 74-75; Ciută 2005, 117) the last one can't be considered any more as a unique culture.

The end of Precriş culture is seen as a result of a cultural diffusion process that took place at the end of II phase of Starčevo-Criş culture (Lazarovici's chronological system). Iuliu Paul opinioned that only at that moment there was a great unity on a wider space (Ciută 2005, 119).

The theory which presents Precriş culture as a genetic phase of Starčevo-Criş culture has been disconcerted by Gheorghe Lazarovici (Lazarovici 2005). Later, Marius Ciută declared that the Gheorghe Lazarovici's arguments were constructive in what concerns the study of this period, but not enough to determine him to abandon his hypothesis about the Neolithic evolution (Ciută 2009, 39).

After the researches from Oltenia, at Cârcea-*La Hanuri*, Cârcea-*Viaduct* and Grădinile-*Islaz*, Marin Nica proposed the use of the term *Cârcea cultural group* for his discoveries (Nica 1981). In his opinion Early Neolithic settlements from West and Center of Oltenia, due to their characteristics, are more related to the *Cârcea cultural group*, meanwhile *Starčevo group* is formed in a more evolved phase of Early Neolithic, the basis element for this group being the barbotine (Nica, Rădoiescu 2003, 9).

The initial manifestation of Neolithic in Europe it was defined by John Nandriş as *FTN* (*First Thermal Neolithic*). This term is not limited by chronological or geographical rigid boundaries and it indicates the moment of adaptive mediation between Mediterranean and Temperate Europe and between Early Neotheramal and Anathermal models of behavior (Nandriş 2007, 11-12).

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The fact that Romanian specialists use such a higher number of terms for defining the cultural phenomenon of the Neolithisation produces many confusions and contradictions. Considering the discoveries made until now, in order to name the first Neolithic culture from Romania the term *Starčevo-Criş culture* is still the one used by most of the specialist, the term *Criş culture* being obsolete. When referring to the whole geographical space where this phenomenon is present there are different names, for each of these zones: Thessaly – *Protosesklo*, Macedonia – *Kremicovici*, *Nea Nikomedeia-Vršnic-Anzabegovo*, Serbia and Bosnia Herţegovina – *Starčevo*, Bulgaria – *Karanovo I*, *Kremicovici*, Hungrary – *Körös*.

The local evolutions of this cultural complex, influenced by different factors like: clime, vegetation, water, the qualities of the soil, material resources, can't be denied.

4. Chronological systems

The author shall present in this chapter the main chronological systems for Early Neolithic, as they were defined, including the ones from the Balkans, considering the fact that they are connected with the ones from Romania or they constituted bases for the schemes proposed by the Romanian archeologists.

In 1950 Vladimir Milojčić divides the evolution of Starčevo-Criş culture in four phases: I hypothetical (without being known any site for this phase at that moment), II, III and IV – contemporary with Vinča A.

After analyzing approximately 50.000 pottery shards from the excavations from the site Starčevo, Draga Garašanin created in 1954 a new system. Many of these fragments came from pit feature 5A, which she considerate to be a closed, well-stratified context. Some specialists have contested the system based on the stratigraphy of this pit, but also the fact that the typology was too much based on the painted ceramics, which accounted for less than 5% of the total ceramic assemblage (Bonsall *et al.* 2002, 48).

In 1959 Draga Garašanin authored a new system having the phases I, IIa, IIb, III which corresponds widely with the ones proposed by Vladimir Milojčić, but there are also some additions about the chronological situation of Nosa and Vršnik sites and there are also pointed the connections with Karanovo I. In 1963 Sergej Dimitrijević decided to use terms like *Linear*, *Ghirlandoid*, *Spiraloid* for defining the phases of evolution for Starčevo culture. These terms represent dominating styles in the painted pottery. Eleven years later the term *Monocrom* was added (Lazarovici 1979, 17-19).

During 1970's, after analyzing especially the ceramic material and taking as an example the scheme proposed by Tatiana Bregant, Gheorghe Lazarovici sets the bases for a chronological system for Starčevo-Criş culture, which is still being used. This system is formed of four main phases – I, II, III, IV – each and every one having tree or two sub phases: I (A,B,C), II (A,B), III (A,B), IV (A,B) (Lazarovici 1977a, 34-49; Lazarovici 1979, 19; Lazarovici, Lazarovici 1996, 63-64). In Tatiana Bregant's system there are nine stages of evolution, while in Gheorghe Lazarovici's there are twelve (Lazarovici, Lazarovici 2006, 70). This scheme can be use in parallel along with others. For example: SC IIB=*Linear* B; SC IIIA=*Ghirlandoid*; SC IIIB=*Spiraloid* A; SC IVA=*Spiraloid* B; SC IV B=*Starčevo* final (LAZAROVICI 1979, p. 19). The Early Neolithic's division in four phases, as Vladimir Milojčić already established, was maintained and also the correspondences with Sergej Dimitrijević's system. This segmentation was created taking in consideration the fact that there are at least four southern migrations but also the evolution of the same phenomenon in Greece and Balkans (Lazarovici, Lazarovici 2006, 60-64).

Iuliu Paul considered necessary a reevaluation of Early Neolithic's chronology for Romania. He believed that the first Neolithic culture in Romania is Precriş culture. The discoveries from layer Ia from Ocna Sibiului and layer I from Gura Baciului correspond to phase Precriş I. For phase II, specific are discoveries from layer Ib and IIa from Ocna Sibiului and II from Gura Baciului. Phase Precriş Ia represents a genetic stage, while Ib is a formative one. Stage IIa is a classical one (corresponding with phase IC-IIA from Gheorghe Lazarovici's system) and the last stage – IIb, makes the passing to Starčevo-Criş culture (Paul 1989, 10-11; Ciută 2005, 128-120).

Under the condition of defining the Precriş culture, with its phases, Marius Ciută considers that Gheorghe Lazarovici's system should be reorganized, starting with phase SC IIB, when Precriş culture has ended its existence (Ciută 2005, 120).

The last studies concerning Starčevo-Criş chronology form Banat and Transylvania

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provided new important information. The data obtained confirmed the fact that Starčevo-Criş culture developed "progressively and without any notable interruption during a period of 1000 years" (Biagi, Spataro 2004, 14). The ceramics studied during this project indicated the fact that it has been produced after the same "formula" for about one millennium. Even though the shape typology changed there are still more elements that indicates a cultural continuity for this long period (Spataro 2011, 43).

Until this moment, for Romania's territory the only viable chronological system and widely accepted by the specialist, for Starčevo-Criş remains the one authored by Gheorghe Lazarovici.

5. The evolution of archeological researches in Transylvania concerning Starčevo-Criş culture

In Transylvania, the interests toward archeology have a different object than the other two Romanian provinces, due to the Saxons and Hungarians who were coordinated by some institutions from Vienna or Budapest (Nestor 1965, 425). An example could be Zsófia von Torma's researches, which made the first excavations in the caves from Nandru Valley (Hundeoara County) at *Peştera Curată* and *Peştera Spurcată* in 1877 and continued in 1879 with Gabor Téglás. The materials discovered were published by Márton Roska in two volumes (Roska 1941, 15-24; Roska 1942, 200-201).

The excavations were resumed by Janós Mallász in 1932 and then by C.S. Nicolăescu-Plopşor, in collaboration with Alexandra Bolomey, Beniamin Bassa and Alexandru Păunescu, between 1955 and 1956, when discovered also Starčevo-Criş materials (Nicolăescu-Plopşor 1957, 29-36; Vlassa 1966, 16; Luca *et al.* 1998, 24-25; Luca *et al.* 2004, p. 22; Roman 2008, 43-44).

The first bibliographical mention of a Starčevo-Criş pot shard dates from 1873 when it was discovered in Sövényháza and published along with some other similar shards found near Seghedin (Vlassa 1966, 3).

In 1944 Ida Kutzián's volume *A Körös-Kultúra* appears, first in a Hungarian version and three years later in English (Kutzian 1947). Into this volume there are also some contributions about discoveries belonging to Early Neolithic from Romania. In 1943, due to the excavations from Ciumăfaia (Cluj County) made by Mihály Párducz, the existence of "Criş culture" in Romania was recognized (Vlassa 1966, 11; Crişan *et al.*, 113-114).

In the period of 1940's the information about Early Neolithic were rather limited due to the small number of researches, reason why many confusions or contradictions appeared.

In 1949 materials belonging to Starčevo-Criş culture appeared in Transylvania in two other sites: Sfântu Gheorghe-*Bedehaza* (Covasna County) and Leţ-*Váreghy* (Covasna County). In the same year, due to the researches from Glăvăneştii Vechi (Iaşi County) and Perieni (Vaslui County), traces of this culture started to appear even in the eastern area (Nestor 1957, 59; Vlassa 1966, 11).

Between 1949 and 1954, based on the discoveries from Leţ and Perieni there have been many discussions about the chronological succession of the cultures discovered here, but they didn't have any stratigraphical or typological observations to be based on. At that moment the relation between Starčevo-Criş and Boian culture couldn't be set for Leţ (Zaharia 1964, 20).

Dumitru and Ion Berciu made in 1942 and 1947 a first series of researches at Alba Iulia-*Lumea Nouă* (Berciu, Berciu 1949, 1-2) and the result of this first campaigns was to separate the cultural stratum in three layers. The painted pottery called D1 discovered here was considered to belong to Starčevo-Criş painted pottery. Next researches demonstrated the fact that D1 pottery was different from Starčevo-Criş (Zaharia 1964, 44; Gligor 2009, 21-22).

At Sfântu Gheorghe-*Bedehaza* Kurt Horedt discovered the first grave belonging to Starčevo Criş culture (Vlassa 1966, 13; Lazarovici 1996, 29; Comşa 1991, 26).

Having as a purpose to establish the chronological succession between "Criş" culture and Boian culture, new archaeological diggings started in 1955 at Leţ-*Váreghy* and confirmed the fact that "Criş" culture was the older one (Nestor 1957, 62; Comşa 1965, 629).

Nicolae Vlassa contributed with his work at the growth of the number of archeological researches in sites belonging to Early Neolithic. In April 1953, at Cipău-*Ingrăşătorie I.C.I.A.* (Mureş County), there have been discovered some archeological features belonging to Starčevo-Criş culture. Next, in 1957, only at a distance of 350 meters from the place just mentioned, Nicolae Vlassa made some diggings and Starčevo-Criş

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materials appeared there too (Vlassa 1965, 28; Vlassa 1966, 14; Lazăr 1995, 159-160). Still at Cipău, but into another point, called *Dâlma Mamelon*, the same Vlassa made a new small excavation and discovered with this occasion a level belonging to Early Neolithic (Vlassa 1965, 28; Vlassa 1968, 375; Lazăr 1995, 155-156). Other researches were made at Balomiru de Câmp (Alba County) and *Gura Văii Cioarei* point, where Nicolae Vlassa found a Neolithic settlement, having only one cultural layer, belonging to Starčevo-Criş culture (Vlassa 1967, 404-406; Lazarovici 1971, 24-25; Moga, Ciugudean 1995, 51). These materials were integrated by Florin Draşovean in the phase IV of Starčevo-Criş culture (Maxim-Kalmar 1999, 141; Luca *et al.* 2000, 38). Collaboration between Nicolae Vlassa, Ioan Glodariu, Tudor Soroceanu, Vasile Pepelea was established for the researches from Bernadea-*Dâmbău*, Mureş County (Vlassa 1973, 19; Lazăr 1975, 608; Draşovean 1981, 34; Lazăr 1995, 54-55, Maxim-Kalmar 1999, 143). During 1960, 1960 Nicolae Vlassa was in charge with the excavations from Iernut *Bideşcuţu Mare* point (Mureş County), where a Starčevo-Criş hut was found (Vlassa 1966, 17; Vlassa 1967, 407; Lazăr 1995, 151; Luca *et al* 2000, 39) and at *Fundu Bedeelor* point, some pottery fragments were discovered (Vlassa 1966, 17; Vlassa 1967, 407; Lazăr 1995, 151). In 1961, at Cluj Napoca-*Memorandum Street* another grave belonging to Starčevo-Criş culture was found. The defunct had near his left shoulder a Starčevo-Criş pot (Vlassa 1966, 18; Crişan *et al.* 1992, 126). This grave, along with the one discovered one year earlier at Gura Baciului (Vlassa, Palko 1965), the two ones from Sfântu Gheorghe-*Bedehaza* and Cipău were the only ones belonging to Starčevo-Criş culture, excavated until that moment.

The first researches form Tărtăria-*Gura Luncii* date from 1942-1943, when Kurt Horedt discovered Starčevo-Criş pottery, under the Turdaş cultural layer, this being actually the moment when the problems concerning the stratigraphy between the two cultures were solved (Horedt 1945, 43-55). In 1961 new diggings were made by Nicolae Vlassa (Vlassa 1976, 28) and in 1989, Iuliu Paul, Alexandru Aldea and Horia Ciugudean started new researches at Tărătăria. In this campaign Vladimir Dumitrescu, Silvia Marinescu-Bâlcu, Florin Draşovean and Sabin Adrian Luca also participated. In 2010 the archeological researches at Tărtăria started again, this time with a team coordinated by Sabin Adrian Luca (Luca *et al.* 2011). The Starčevo-Criş settlement belongs to IIIB phase (Vlassa 1966, 33; Vlassa 1967, 403; Maxim-Kalmar 1999, 188; Luca *et al.* 2000, 46; Suciu 2009, 151).

In 1960, under the supervision of Ştefan Ferenczi, Nicolae Vlassa started the first excavations from Gura Baciului (Cluj County) and they continued in the years 1968, 1969 and 1970. During 1968 and 1969 the researches were leaded by Professor Atilla Palkó and in 1970 by Nicolae Vlassa (Vlassa 1968, 371; Vlassa 1972, 7-8; Lazarovici, Maxim 1995, 45-48).

Because of the important discoveries made, this archeological site became a reference point for the Early Neolithic in Romania. There have been established three cultural levels: Gura Baciului I, Gura Baciului II şi Gura Baciului III (Vlassa 1972, 23-27; Lazarovici, Maxim 1995, 49). The oldest one, GB I[1], is result of some communities that have migrated from the North of the Balkan Peninsula all the way to Transylvania. Nicolae Vlassa indicated the cultural parallelism between GB I-Protosesklo A (Argissa-Magula, Gremnos-Magula) and he also stated the fact that the "separation" of the communities that have arrived at Gura Baciului took place at the beginning of Presesklo culture, in order to explain the stylistic differences between the painted pottery from GB I level, almost identical with the one from Donja Branjevina and the painted motives of Protosesklo ceramics (Vlassa 1972, 23-26). When referring himself to the Early Neolithic discoveries from Romania, he proposed a relative chronological sequence: GB I – Cârcea-*Hanuri I* – Ocna Sibiului I – GB II. The way that pottery from GB II level looks is different form the one in GB I, and based on this observation Nicolae Vlassa stated that this level is situated, from a chronological point of view "no later than Pre-Sesklo culture". The materials from GB III level belongs, in his opinion, "to a total developed Criş-Körös culture" (Vlassa 1972, 23-24; Kalmar 1987, 57; Lazarovici, Maxim 1995, 49).

Olga Necrasov is the first one who made anthropological determinations on Starčevo-Criş population, including the ones from Gura Baciului (Necrasov 1965; Necrasov 1965a).

Iuliu Paul started the excavations at Ocna Sibiului (Sibiu County) in the point called *Faţa Vacilor* in

[1] In order to refer to the levels from Gura Baciului we shall use the following abbreviations: Gura Baciului I = GB I, Gura Baciului II = GB II şi Gura Baciului III = GB III.

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1960, researches that he will continue also in the next year (Paul 1965, 295; Paul 1970). Based on the discoveries he had made here, but also correlating these results with one made on other archeological fields, Iuliu Paul sustained the theory that "the development of Petreşti pottery took place during Turdaş culture, based on older Criş culture basis". During 1974-1988 Iuliu Paul excavated one of the most important sites for Early Neolithic in Romania. This is Ocna Sibiului-Triguri, where six levels belonging to Early Neolithic have been discovered: Ia-b, IIa-b, IIIa-b (Ciută 2005, 20).

In 1960 an ample study on Prehistoric period in Romania was published in a Romanian history synthesis (*** 1960). For the first time, the results of the archeological researches that started before First World War received their disserved place in the Romania historiography (Berciu 1961, 101; Nestor 1965, 426).

During the years '50 and'70 very important contributions regarding the study of Starčevo-Criş culture from Transylvania were made by researchers like Eugenia Zaharia who, along with Ion Nestor and Zoltán Székély, restarted the excavations form Leţ-*Váreghy* and established the existence of three levels belonging to so-called Criş culture: Leţ I, II and III (Zaharia 1964, 22-31). Afterwards, Gheorghe Lazarovici was the one to correct Eugenia Zaharia's synchronism: Leţ III-Starčevo III; Leţ II-Starčevo II, Leţ I-Starčevo, because he considered that the phase Leţ I wasn't that early (Lazarovici 1969, 27; Marinescu-Bâlcu 1975, 490; Lazarovici, Székely 1990-1994, 5; Ciută 1997, 11; Lazarovici 2005, 25).

The first studies concerning to the Early Neolithic made by Gheorghe Lazarovici were for the Banat area, but he permanently parallelized this discoveries to the ones from Transylvania (Lazarovici 1969; Lazarovici 1970; Lazarovici 1971; Lazarovici 1971a; Lazarovici 1974; Lazarovici 1975).

The excavations from Porţ-*Corău* (Sălaj County) started in 1973 and they were made under Doina Ignat's coordination and continued until 1990. In 2002 they were restarted. The Starčevo-Criş settlement discovered here was dated in IIIB-IVA phase (Matei *et al.* 2003; Băcueţ-Crişan 2007, 20-26, 73; Băcueţ-Crişan 2008, 13; Luca, Gudea 2010, 89; Luca, Gudea 2010a, 147).

In 1980 other old researches were restarted. Now it was the case of Zăuan settlement (Sălaj County), started first in years '70, but with a new team formed by Eva Lakó, Gheorghe Lazarovici, Zoia Kalmar and Sabin Adrian Luca (Lakó 1977; Lakó 1978; Lazarovici, Lako 1981; Lazarovici 1992; Lazarovici 1993; Băcueţ-Crişan 2007, 16). The researches were made in two different points: *Dâlma Cimitirului* and *Dâlma Spânzurătorii.* The materials discovered at *Dâlma Cimitirului* belong to Starčevo-Criş culture; most of those belonging to the second level belong to phase IV and a part of the materials from the first level indicates the fact that living here started since the phase IIIB (Lazarovici, Lakó 1981).

Between 1981 and 1987, with some interruptions, under the coordination of Ioan Andriţoiu, Tiberiu Mariş and Florin Draşovean made a serial of excavations in Hundeoara, point *Grădina Castelului*. In 1996 the researches started once again, this time under the coordination of Sabin Adrian Luca. The Starčevo-Criş materials discovered here belong to the phase IIIB-IVA (Luca *et al.* 1998, 32-34; Luca 1999, 58-59; Luca 1999a, 7-8; Maxim 1999, 163; Draşovean 2002, 57-62; Luca 2003, 73-79; Luca *et al.* 2000, 39; Luca *et al.* 2004, 57; Luca 2008, 96). Still in Hunedoara, but in the point called *Biserica Reformată* or *Cimitirul Reformat*, there have been discovered material belonging to Starčevo-Criş culture, phase IIIB (Luca *et al.* 1998, 31-33; Luca 1999, 58; Luca *et al.* 2000, 39; Draşovean 2001, 57-62; Luca 2008, 96) and on *Elisabeta Mărgineanu Street*, in 1980, Tiberiu Mariş discovered IIIB phase pottery (Roman, Diaconescu 1999-2000, 97, 101; Roman, Diaconescu 2002, 9-10; Luca 2004, 16-17; Luca *et al.* 2004, 58; Luca 2008, 97).

At the beginning of the 1980's Florin Draşovean published a study on Starčevo-Criş culture in the middle Mureş area, creating also with this occasion a repertoire of the discoveries belonging to this period in the mentioned area (Draşovean 1981).

In 1984 Gheorghe Lazarovici published a large synthesis on Early Neolithic from Romania (Lazarovici 1984).

As a result of the collaboration between Gheorghe Lazarovici and Zoia Maxim, in 1995 the monograph of Gura Baciului was published and it confirmed, once again (as if it was necessary), the great importance of the discoveries from this sit. The two archaeologist have restarted the researches from the sit of Gura Baciului, stared in 1960 by Nicolae Vlassa, to whom was actually the volume dedicated to (Lazarovici, Maxim 1995).

During the last thirty years, archeologist started to use, more frequently, the information provided by

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other sciences, in order to have a more accurate view of the archeological situations. Since 1985, with the help of the *Interdisciplinary Research Laboratory* form Mathematic Faculty at *Babeş-Bolyai* University from Cluj Napoca, collaboration between mathematicians, specialist in informatics and archeologists was settled. The archeologists were helped to create data basis where they could store information about archeological discoveries (Kalmar-Maxim 1999, 8). The first data base containing information about Starčevo-Criş culture was the one from Gura Baciului, which contained, in the first phase 19.000 objects.

The archeological researches from Orăştie-*Dealul Pemilor point* X_8 started in 1992, when only a part of a Starčevo-Criş assemblage was discovered, but in 1994 it was entirely excavated. This assemblage was dated in Starčevo-Criş IIIB phase, the materials being pretty similar with the ones from Zăuan (Luca *et al.* 1998a).

The first diggings from Limba-*Bordane* (Alba County) were made in 1944 by Ştefan Munteanu and in 1947 by Dumitru and Ion Berciu (Berciu, Berciu 1947, 18-19). In 1995, a team including Iuliu Paul, Alexandru Aldea and Marius Mihai Ciută, started new investigations in this point (Paul, Ciută 1998a, 66-67; Paul *et al.* 1999; Maxim, Kalmar 1999, 158; Ciută 2000, 51-76; Ciută 2002, 1-30; Ciută 2005, 150). Under the layer belonging to Vinča culture a Starčevo-Criş layer was found (Ciută *et al.* 2011). A house has been identified and entirely excavated in 1999. From the chronological point of view it belongs to IIIB phase (Ciută 2002, 2-9).

In 1996 the settlement from Şeuşa-*La cărarea morii* was discovered and in the same year an excavation was started by Iuliu Paul (Ciută 1998, 3; Ciută 2000, 51-53). The results were published in some articles (Ciută 1998; Ciută 2000) and the prehistoric materials were published in a volume (Ciută 2009). Starčevo-Criş materials from here belong to IC-IIA and IIB-IIIA phase (Ciută 1998, 5; Ciută 2009, 73-76, 79).

In 1998 the first excavations from Cerişor point *Cauce Cave* (Hunedoara County) were made, under the coordination of Sabin Adrian Luca. This cave represents one of the points which connect the road of the second Neolithic migration communities, who passed from Banat, through Poiana Ruscă Mountains, in their way to Transylvania. Considering the pottery discovered here the Starčevo-Criş level was dated in IC-IIA phase (Luca *et al.* 1998, 27; Luca *et al.* 2004; Roman 2008, 44).

A very important site for the study of Early Neolithic in Romania is Miercurea Sibului-*Petriş* (Sibiu County), which has been investigated starting with 1997 (Luca *et al.* 2003, 140; Luca 2004; Luca, Suciu 2004, 11-15; Luca, Suciu 2007, 78-79; Luca *et al.* 2004a; Luca *et al.* 2005; Luca *et al.* 2006; Luca *et al.* 2007; Luca *et al.* 2007a; Luca *et al.* 2008; Luca *et al.* 2008a, Luca *et al.* 2009; Luca *et al.* 2009a; Luca *et al.* 2010). The oldest layer here belongs to Starčevo-Criş culture, having many sublevels: Ia – Starčevo-Criş phase IB, Ib – Starčevo-Criş phase IC-IIA, Ic – Starčevo-Criş phase IIB-IIIA. The pottery belonging to Early Neolithic was analyzed from the typological point of view but also the fabrication methods (Tudorie 2011) and the results were compared with the information belonging to the same period from Gura Baciului or Şeuşa and published in several studies (Luca, Suciu 2007; Luca, Suciu 2008; Luca *et al.* 2008).

At approximately 6 km East from *Petriş*, in 2003, another Starčevo-Criş settlement belonging to the phase IIIA was discovered (Luca *et al.* 2004a; Luca *et al.* 2008, 23; Suciu 2009, 135).

The area of Crasna and Barcău Rivers was studied, in the last years by Sanda Băcueţ Crişan. Information referring to the neo-eneolithic period was published in two volumes (Băcueţ-Crişan 2007; Băcueţ-Crişan 2008). The author has reanalyzed the documentation from older excavations and tried to reinterpretate them taking into account the new discoveries. She has also created a repertoire of the discoveries belonging to Starčevo-Criş culture, for the area above mentioned.

In 1985 Gheorghe Lazarovici pointed all the Starčevo-Criş discoveries from Romania at that moment and their number rose to 131 sites. More recently, a new project (Luca *et al.* 2010a; Luca *et al.* 2011b; Luca *et al.* 2011c) was finished and its purpose was to register all the Early Neolithic discoveries from Transylvania, Banat, Crişana, Maramureş and Western Oltenia. The data base crated was correlated with the one of radiocarbon data for this period, in Romania. There were identified 320 points from which 148 are from Transylvania.

6. Conclusions

The first information about Early Neolithic in Transylvania date from years '40, and this period is marked by Idei Kutzián volume *A Körös-Kultúra*, were some discoveries from Romania are

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also mentioned. But, the small number of researches, the excavation system and the way data was interpreted, plus the lack of information created a series of confusions.

The researches made in 1955 in the site of Leţ-*Vàreghy* cleared the doubts about the chronological succession between Starčevo-Criş and Boian cultures.

The first Romanian archaeologists that have tried to describe the phenomena of Early Neolithic in north Danubian space were: Mircea Petrescu-Dâmboviţa, Ioan Nestor, Dumitru Berciu, Kurt Horedt, Eugen Comşa and Vladimir Dumitrescu.

Nicolae Vlassa is the one who wrote the first synthesis about Early Neolithic in Transylvania, but he is also the first to start the researches at Gura Baciului, the site that became a reference point in what concerns the definition of Early Neolithic life in Romania.

Even though he started by studding Banat area, Gheorghe Lazarovici made the first chronological system for Starčevo-Criş culture which is still being used at this moment. Along with Zoia Maxim he had restarted the excavations at Gura Baciului and based on modern research techniques, in 1995, the results were published.

Another important site for the study of Early Neolithic in Transylvania, but also in Romania is Ocna Sibiului- *Triguri*, investigated by Iuliu Paul.

In the last period some Romanian archaeologists started using information provided by other science, promoting in this way modern methods and techniques of investigating the materials resulted after the excavation, but also in order to prepare the future researches like it happened already on the researches from Miercurea Sibiului-*Petriş*, Cerişor-*Peştera Cauce* or Şeuşa-*La cărarea morii*.

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ANOTHER EARLY VINČA SETTLEMENT FROM TRANSYLVANIA

Florina Maria NIŢU*

Abstract: *By reanalyzing the ceramic material from Ocna Sibiului-Faţa Vacilor archaeological site, Sibiu county (archaeological research led by Iuliu Paul between 1959 and 1960) we've noticed, on one side, the lack of Turdaş elements and on the other side, the presence of a rich lot of ceramic material belonging to Vinča culture, phase A_3.*
Keywords: *neolithic, Ocna Sibiului-Faţa Vacilor, Vinča culture, pottery.*

Rezumat: *Reanalizând materialului ceramic din situl de la Ocna Sibiului-Faţa Vacilor, jud. Sibiu (cercetări arheologice conduse de Iuliu Paul în anii 1959-1960) am constatat lipsa elementelor Turdaş şi prezenţa, în schimb, a unui lot consistent de material ceramic aparţinând culturii Vinča, faza A_3.*
Cuvinte cheie: *neolitic, Ocna Sibiului-Faţa Vacilor, cultura Vinča, ceramică.*

I. General context

The research from Ocna Sibiului-Faţa Vacilor (Sibiu County) took place in 1959 and 1960, under Iuliu Paul's direction. As a result of the six sections that were open up during the two years of activity, two research reports were published, presenting a few stratigraphic layers and profiles and little ceramic material. We must mention that the archaeological site has also been cited in the professional literature of the end of 19th century and a first attempt of a thorough archaeological research of the site is related to Nicolae Lupu. In 1954, Nicolae Lupu initiated a research campaign here, but it was abandoned due to unfavourable weather conditions (Paul 1962, p. 193).

In 1959 two sections were open up at Faţa Vacilor (I and III) and only one in the point La Roghină (II) (Map 1). By investigating the research performed in 1959, we can say few things about Vinča culture. The sections from Faţa Vacilor had the same dimension, 12 x 1 m, and the so-called Turdaş materials were detected only in S1, level 2 (the three levels depicted here were attributed to Petreşti culture) (Paul 1962, p. 193-194).

Out of four sections made in 1960, S IV drives our attention. It is considered that in sections S V-VII the culture stratum entirely belongs to Petreşti culture; it is only in S IV that a so-called Turdaş level was identified and within it, a pit (Fig. 2).

Taking into account the Turdaş ceramic material discovered, the other two levels were named Turdaş-Petreşti and Petreşti-Turdaş, respectively (Paul 1970).

The issue of Vinča-Turdaş culture will be solved after 1992, when archaeological research will begin at Turdaş-Luncă site (research carried out between 1992 and 1998 by professor Sabin Luca) (Luca 2001). Given the results obtained here, professor Sabin Luca will demonstrate the inutility of this term, Vinča-Turdaş, and the differences between Vinča and Turdaş culture in a number of studies, articles and books (Luca 1999a; Luca 1999b; Luca 2001, 98-114; Luca 2006; Luca 2006a, 17-21; Luca et al. 2000a; Luca et al. 2000b).

By reanalyzing the archaeological material coming from this site and which is stored at the National Brukenthal Museum, we couldn't identify not even a pot fragment belonging to Turdaş culture; instead, we have discovered a considerable number of ceramic fragments (considerable, if we take into consideration the fact that only representative material was stored in the museum) attributed to Vinča culture. This situation is also confirmed by Cosmin Suciu, who in 2008 carried on surface research here. It was then that more ceramic fragments belonging to Vinča culture were found and no Turdaş fragment could be identified (Suciu 2009, p. 138-142).

II. Description of the ceramic material

We have found and documented about 150 fragments that are typical of Vinča culture after analyzing the entire material received from Ocna Sibiului-*Fata Vacilor*. The present work describes

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only a part of the analyzed material and a thorough study will be published in the future.

In general, the pottery fragments that were stored are fine or semi-fine, most of them being decorated. The most common decorations are the pleats and the incised dotted band, followed by oval and round impressions, alveolar ornaments and grooves, which are represented in a very small proportion of the total material (only two ceramic fragments).

III. Analogies

All the analogies we can find in Transylvania refer to Miercurea Sibiului-*Petriş* (Suciu 2009) and Romos- *Făgădău* (Luca 1995-1996) sites. This, because all the other excavations in the area haven't been published yet (Paul *et al.* 1999; Paul 2000, nr. 80; Paul 2001, nr. 107; Paul 2002, nr. 131 bis); or they gives hardly enough information for a cultural and chronological attribution (Paul 2007).

For plates Pl. 1 and Pl. 4 we find analogies, for morphology and ornaments type, in level IIa1 in pit-house B18 (Suciu 2009, 103-104, Fig. 139-2; 140-4), level IIa2 in pit-house B15 (Suciu 2009, 119, Fig. 171-1) and pit G8 (Suciu 2009, 114, Fig. 159-1,2; 160-5) and in level IIb, house L11 (Suciu 2009, 129, Fig. 186-2). At Romos we have similar shapes and ornaments too (Luca 1995-1996, 58, 60, Tef. V-7; Tef. III-5). For Pl. 2 we can find analogies in level IIa1, pit- house B12 (Suciu 2009, 97, Fig. 128-1, 2), B4 (Suciu 2009, 92, Fig. 122-10), in level IIa2, pit- house B5 (Suciu 2009, 119, Fig. 171-5) and in level IIb, house L11 (Suciu 2009, 125, 129, Fig. 178-5; 188-6- represented here like a possible lid) and at Romos (Luca 1995-1996, 58, Tef. III-8). For Pl. 3 we have analogies in level IIa1, in pit- house B18 (Suciu 2009, 104, Fig. 141-1), in level IIa2, pit- house B15 (Suciu 2009, 119, Fig. 171-4) and in level IIb, house L11 (Suciu 2009, 125, Fig. 179-4). Pl. 4 presents similarities with a few pottery shapes from Romos (Luca 1995-1996, 60- 61, Tef. V-7; VI-11).

Fragments 3-6 from Pl. 5 have analogies in level IIa1, pit- house B18 (Suciu 2009, 104, Fig. 140-6, 7) but also in level IIb, house L11 (Suciu 2009, 129, Fig. 188-5). Also, we can find analogies at Romos (Luca 1995-1996, 61, Tef. VI-4, 5). In level IIb, house L13, we have analogies for the shape represented in Pl. 5, figure 2 (Suciu 2009, 133, Fig. 195-1, 2) and also in L11 (Suciu 2009, 125, 127, Fig. 178-1, 2; 182-1) and even earlier, in level IIa2, in pit- house B5 (Suciu 2009, 19, Fig. 150-1). For Pl. 6 we find analogies in level IIa2, pit G8 (Suciu 2009, 113, Fig. 157-2) and in level IIb, house L11 (Suciu 2009, 129, Fig. 188-3). For Pl. 7 we have analogies, from a morphological point of view, in level IIa1, pit- house B4 (Suciu 2009, 92, Fig. 122-4), pit- house B18 (Suciu 2009, 103, Fig. 138-1) but also in level IIb, house L11 (Suciu 2009, 127, Fig. 183-1)

IV. Final discussions

Although alveolar ornaments are not represented here, we have to take them into consideration. There are three ceramic fragments, all lip fragments, with alveolar ornament very near to the lip. All three of them represent the same type of ornament, E6 (Niţu 2008, Pl. 14).

On the basis of presented elements and similarities with above mentioned Vinča sites from the area and cosidering the lack of certain A_2 or B_1 elements, we can state that ceramic material from Ocna Sibiului-*Faţa Vacilor* belongs to Vinča culture, phase A_3.

Ceramic material from this site presents similarities with other Vinča sites from Transylvania, some unpublished but described, others published to the utmost extent possible (Luca 1999a; Luca 1999b; Luca 2000a, Fig. 15-16; Luca 2000b, Abb. 15-16). We refer here to pottery brought to light once again, this time attributed to Vinča culture, from archaeological sites like Limba, Sântimbru-*La Ţărmure,* Tărtăria-*Gura Luncii* or Vurpăr (Luca 2000a, 39-40, 45-47). In this context we would like to stress the importance of a reevaluation of pottery came from archaeological sites known as Turdaş. As I already said, it was demonstrated that there are two different cultures, Vinča and Turdaş. Although this was stated a decade ago, we have knowledge of only one so-called Turdaş site republished as Vinča, that from Sebeş-*Podul Pripocului* (Popa, Totoianu 2001). And this is not because there are no other Vinča sites, but maybe because no one is looking in museums' deposits for them.

We also analized ceramic material from other sites with Turdaş cultural levels, stored in Brukenthal National Museum deposits. We refer here to Daia Română-*Părăuţ* (Alba county) (Paul 1992), Pianul de Jos-*Podei* (Alba county) (Paul 1969), Răhău-*Dealul Şipotelor* (Alba county) (Horedt *et al.* 1967) and Caşolt-*Maticuta* (Alba county) (Paul 1961) – work in progress, not finished yet). In all these cases we couldn't find not even one Vinča fragment. All these sites, according to material preserved, belong to Turdaş culture (except Caşolt, only partly analized).

In conclusion we stress, once more, the importance of investigations carried out in museums' deposits, to clarify what archaeological site belongs to which culture, Vinča or Turdaş.

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ILUSTRATION LIST/ LISTA ILUSTRAŢIILOR

Map 1. Location of the excavations opened up at Ocna Sibiului archaeological site.
Figure 1. Part of east profile of section SIV, representing the pit.
Plate 1-7. Pottery fragments from Ocna Sibiului-*Faţa Vacilor*.

Harta 1. Amplasarea secţiunilor în situl de la Ocna Sibiului-*Faţa Vacilor*.
Figura 1. Parte a profilului de est a secţiunii SIV, reprezentând bordeiul *Turdaş*.
Planşele 1-7. Ceramică din situl de la Ocna Sibiului-*Faţa Vacilor*.

DESCRIPTION OF FIGURES

Description of pottery: ware type; colour; temper; burning type; surface treatment.

Pl. 1 Ocna Sibiului-*Faţa Vacilor*. Section IV / 1960. Culture: Vinča
1. Meter: 1. Depth: 0,35-0,55 m. Description: fine; greyish-black; fine sand; good burning; polished; decorated with pleats.
2. Meter: 1. Depth: 0,55-0,75 m. Description: fine; whitish-grey; fine sand; good burning; polished; decorated with pleats.
3. Meter: 7. Depth: 0,75-1,00 m. Description: fine; whitish-grey; fine sand; good burning; polished; decorated with pleats.
4. Meter: 10. Depth: 0,75-1,00 m. Description: fine; grey; fine sand; good burning; polished; decorated with pleats.
5. Meter: 8. Depth: 0,15-0,35 m. Description: fine; grey; fine sand; good burning; polished; decorated with incised-dotted band.

Pl. 2 Ocna Sibiului-*Faţa Vacilor*. Section IV / 1960. Culture: Vinča

1. Meter: 13. Depth: 0,75-0,95 m. Description: fine; light brown; fine sand; good burning; polished.
2. Meter: 8. Depth: 0,15-0,35 m. Description: semi fine; coffee-colored (interior light brown); sand; good burning; smoothed; decorated with incisions and dots.
3. Meter: 8. Depth: 0,15-0,35. Description: semi fine; brown; sand with big granulation; good burning; smoothed; decorated with dots.
4. Meter: 2. Depth: 0,75-1,00 m. Description: semi fine; whitish-grey; good, reductive burning; fine sand with pounded pottery fragments; polished; decorated with pleats.
5. Meter: 2. Depth: 0,75-1,00 m. Description: semi fine, greyish-black; sand with pounded pottery fragments; good burning; polished; decorated with pleats.
6. Meter: 2. Depth: 0,35-0,55. Description: fine; greyish-black; fine sand; good burning; polished; decorated with pleats.

Pl. 3 Ocna Sibiului-*Faţa Vacilor*. Section IV / 1960. Culture: Vinča
1. Meter: 6. Depth: 0,75-1,00 m. Description: fine; greyish-black (grey interior); fine sand; good burning; polished; two fragments.
2. Meter: 28. Depth: 1,00-1,20 m. Description: fine; brown; fine sand; good burning; polished; decorated with pleats.

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3. Meter: 11-12. Depth: 1,25-1,50 m. Description: fine; grey; fine sand; good burning; polished; decorated with pleats.
4. Meter: 17. Depth: 1,40-1,60 m. Description: fine; brown (grey interior); fine sand; good burning; polished; decorated with pleats.
5. Meter: 5. Depth: 1,20-1,40 m. Description: fine; grey; fine sand; good burning; smoothed; decorated with incised-dotted band.
6. Meter: 11-12. Depth: 1,25-1,50 m. Description: fine; greyish-black (grey interior); fine sand and ochre; good burning; polished; decorated with incised-dotted band.
7. Meter: 28-29. Depth: 1,85-2,00 m. Description: fine; greyish-black; fine sand; good burning; polished; decorated with pleats.
8. Meter: 27. Depth: 1,40-1,80 m. Description: semi fine; light brown (whitish-grey interior); sand; good burning; smoothed.

Pl.4 Ocna Sibiului-*Fața Vacilor*. Section IV / 1960. Culture: Vinča
1. Meter: 14. Depth: 1,20-1,40 m. Description: fine; grey; fine sand; good burning; polished; decorated with pleats.
2. Meter: 25. Depth: 1,80-1,95 m. Description: fine; brown (greyish-black interior); fine sand; good burning; polished; decorated with pleats.
3. Meter: 29. Depth: 1,85-2,00 m. Description: semi fine; whitish-grey; fine sand with pounded pottery fragments; good burning; smoothed; decorated with pleats.
4. Meter: 24. Depth: 1,80-2,00 m. Description: fine; greyish-black; fine sand; good burning; smoothed.

Pl. 5 Ocna Sibiului-*Fața Vacilor*. Section IV / 1960. Culture: Vinča.
1. Meter: 16. Depth: 1,60-1,80 m. Description: fine; whitish-grey; fine sand; good burning; polished.
2. Meter: 24. Depth: 1,20-1,40 m. Description: fine; grey; fine sand; good burning; polished.
3. Meter: 25. Depth: 1,80-1,95 m. Description: fine; light brown; fine sand; good burning; polished.
4. Meter: 5-6. Depth: 0,10-1,20 m. Description: fine; brick-colored; fine sand; good burning; polished slip, partially preserved.
5. Meter: 15. Depth: 0,55-0,75 m. Description: fine; reddish slip; fine sand; good burning; polished slip, partially preserved.
6. Meter: 1. Depth: 1,00-1,20 m. Description: fine; reddish-brown slip (light brown interior); fine sand; good burning; polished slip, partially preserved.

Pl. 6 Ocna Sibiului-*Fața Vacilor*. Section IV / 1960. Culture: Vinča.
1. Meter: 2. Depth: 1,00-1,20 m. Description: fine; whitish-grey; fine sand; good burning; polished.
2. Meter: 29. Depth: 1,60-1,85 m. Description: fine; light brown (greyish-black interior); fine sand; good burning; polished; decorated with oval marks on rim.
3. Meter: 17. Depth: 1,40-1,60 m. Description: fine; light brown; fine sand and pounded pottery fragments; good burning; smoothed; decorated with incised-dotted band and dots.
4. Meter: 29. Depth: 1,85-2,00 m. Description: semi fine; whitish-grey (grey interior); fine sand and pounded pottery fragments; good burning; smoothed; with two perforations.
5. Meter: 29. Depth: 1,60-1,85 m. Description: coarse; grey (dark brown interior); sand with big granulation and ochre; good burning; smoothed; decorated with incisions and dots.

Pl. 7 Ocna Sibiului-*Fața Vacilor*. Section IV / 1960. Culture: Vinča.
1. Meter: 21. Depth: 1,60-1,80 m. Description: fine; grey; fine sand; good burning; smoothed; decorated with incised-dotted band.
2. Meter: 11-12. Depth: 1,50-1,72 m. Description: fine; greyish-black; fine sand; good burning; smoothed; decorated with incised-dotted band.
3. Meter: 29. Depth: 1,85-2,00 m. Description: semi fine; brown (grey interior); sand; good burning; polished; decorated with pleats.
4. Meter: 25. Depth: 1,80-1,95 m. Description: fine; grey; fine sand and pounded pottery fragments; good burning; polished; decorated with pleats.

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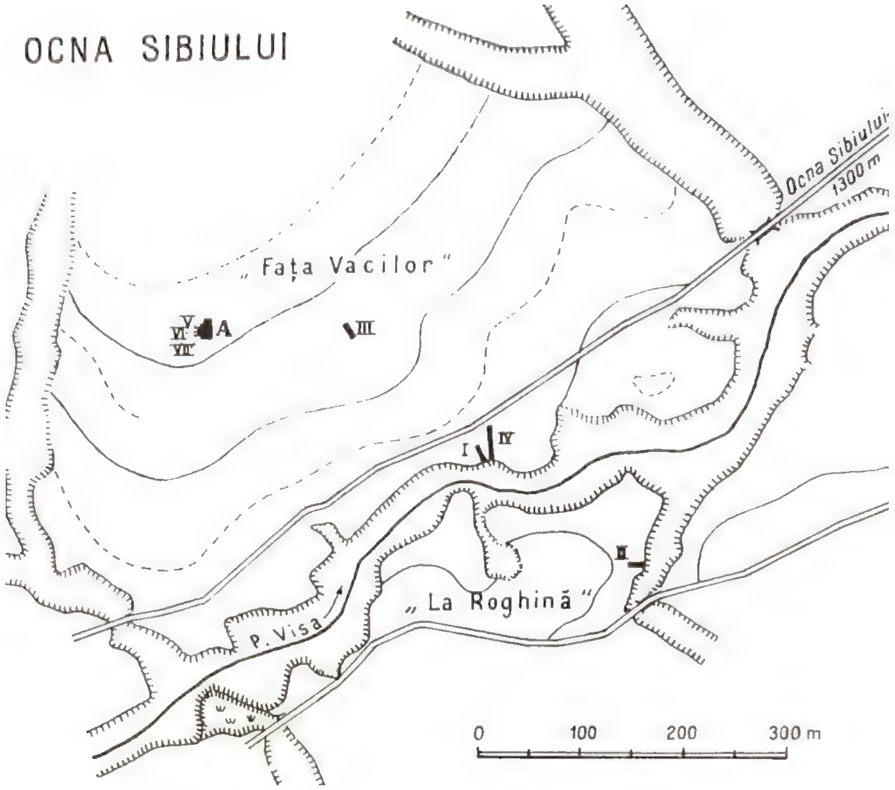

Map 1

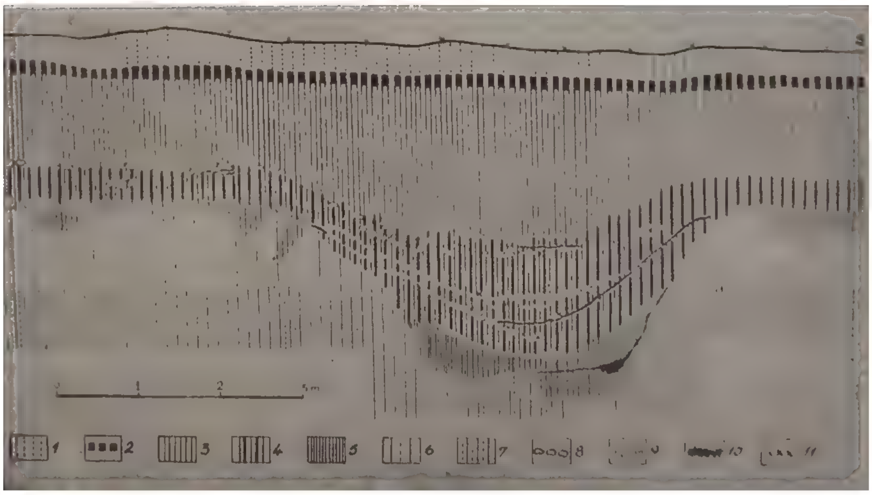

Figure 1

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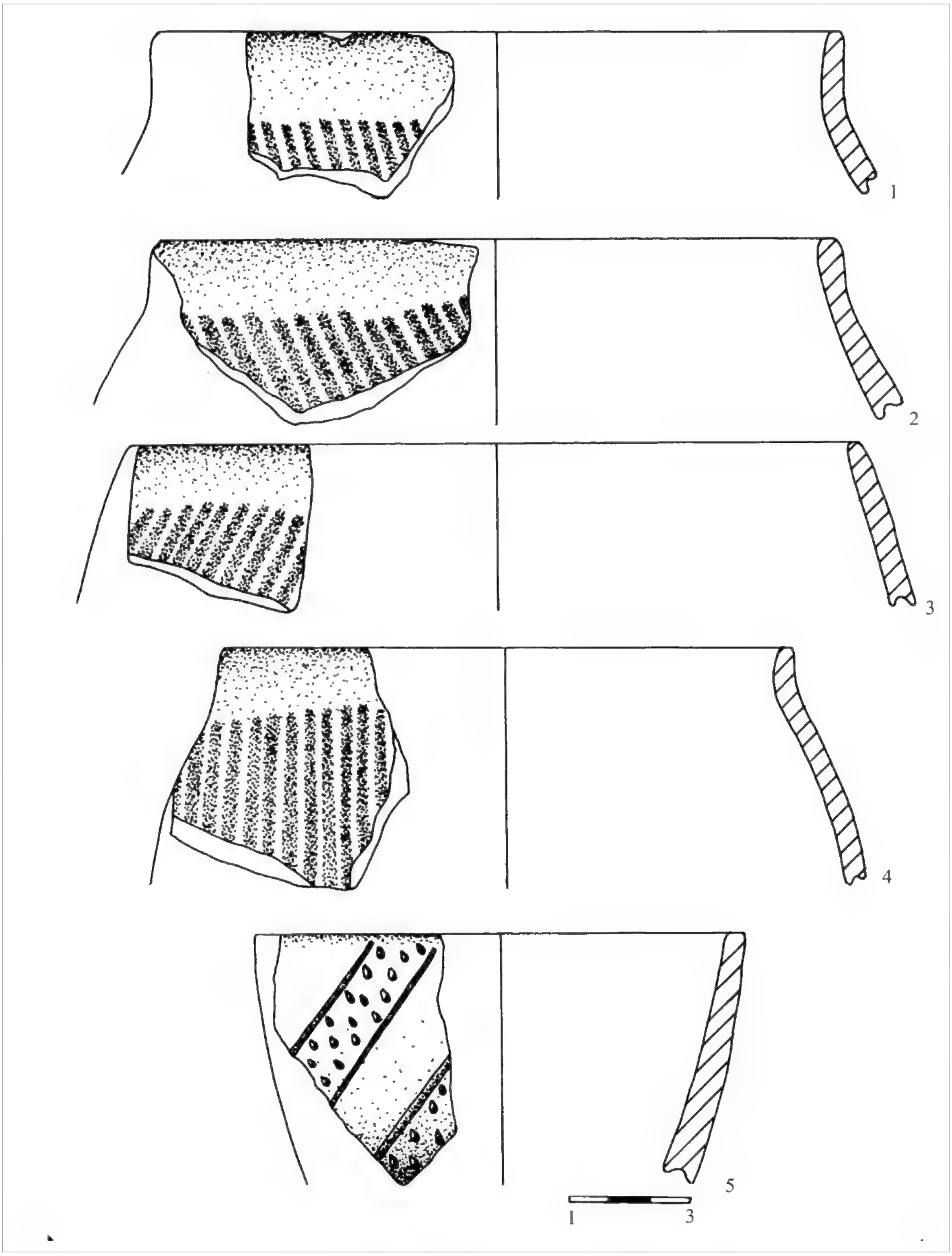

Plate 1

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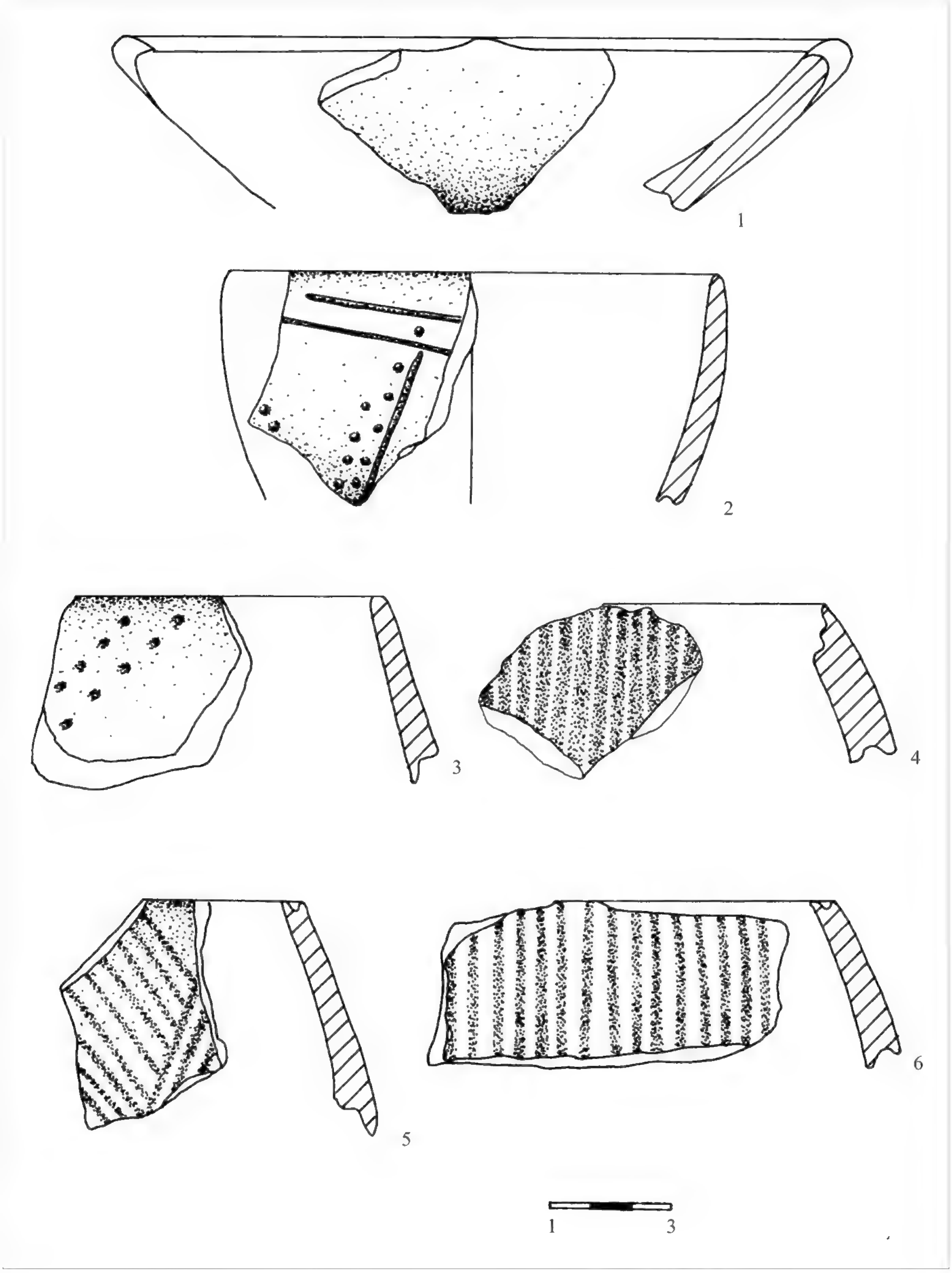

Plate 2

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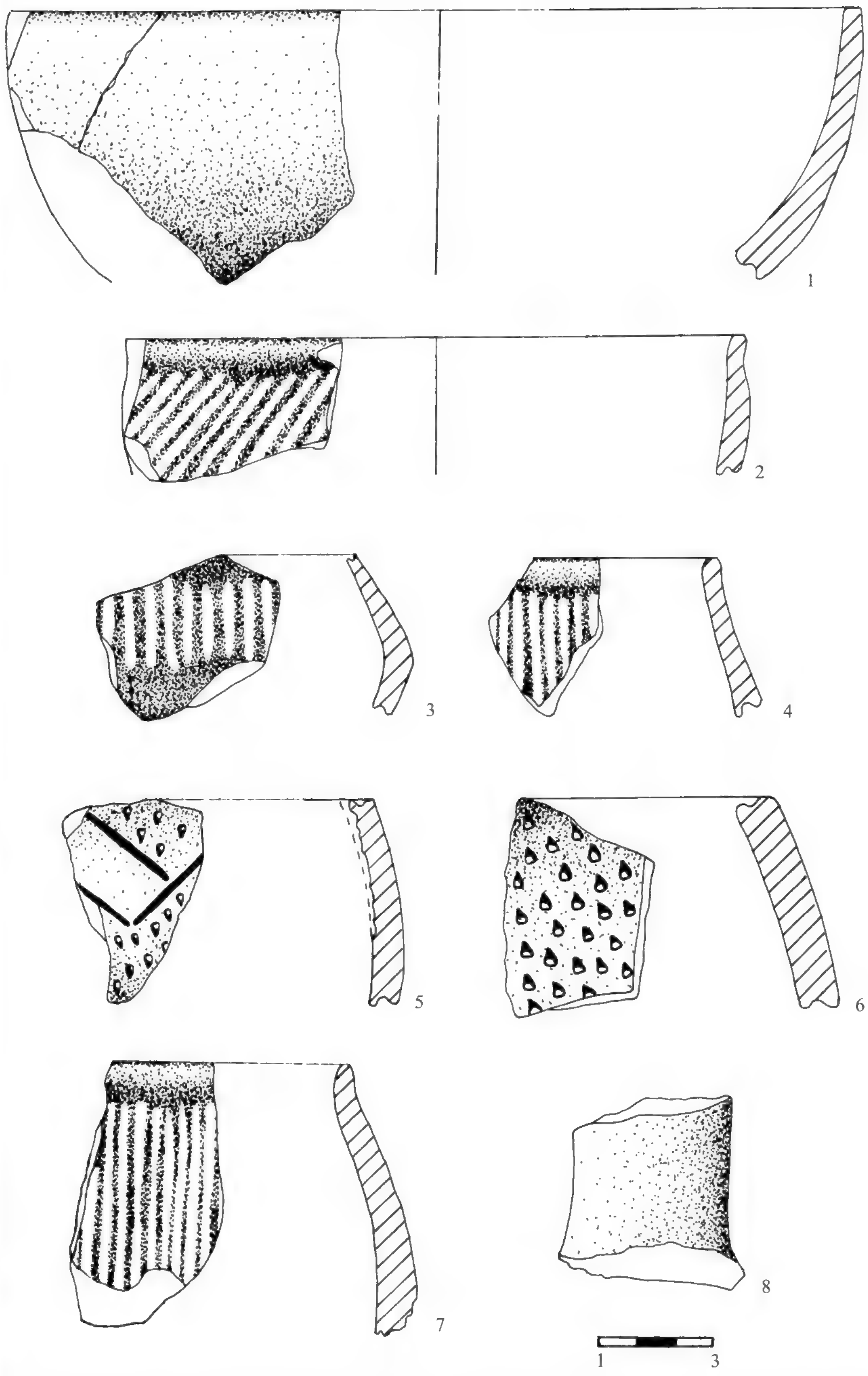

Plate 3

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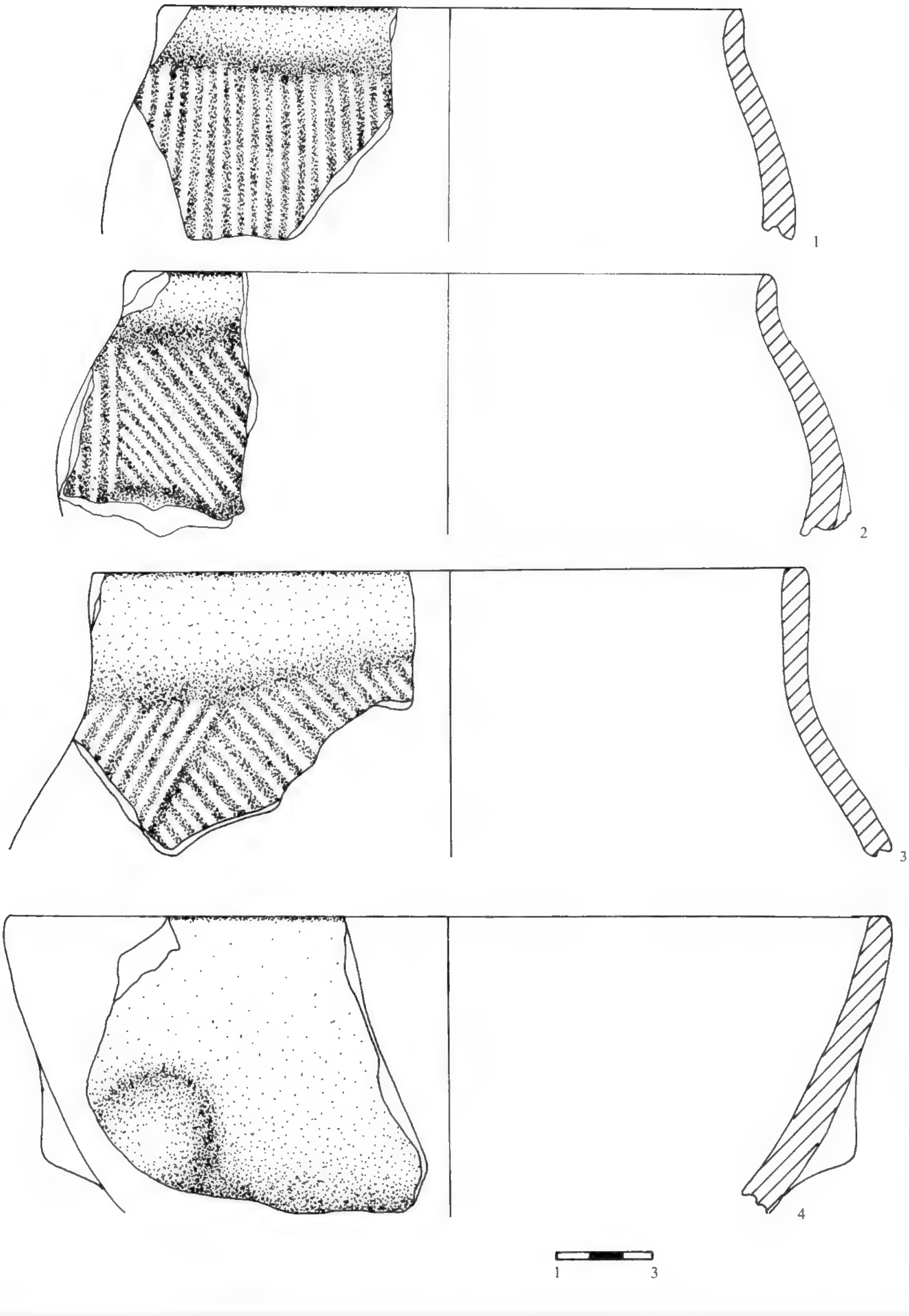

Plate 4

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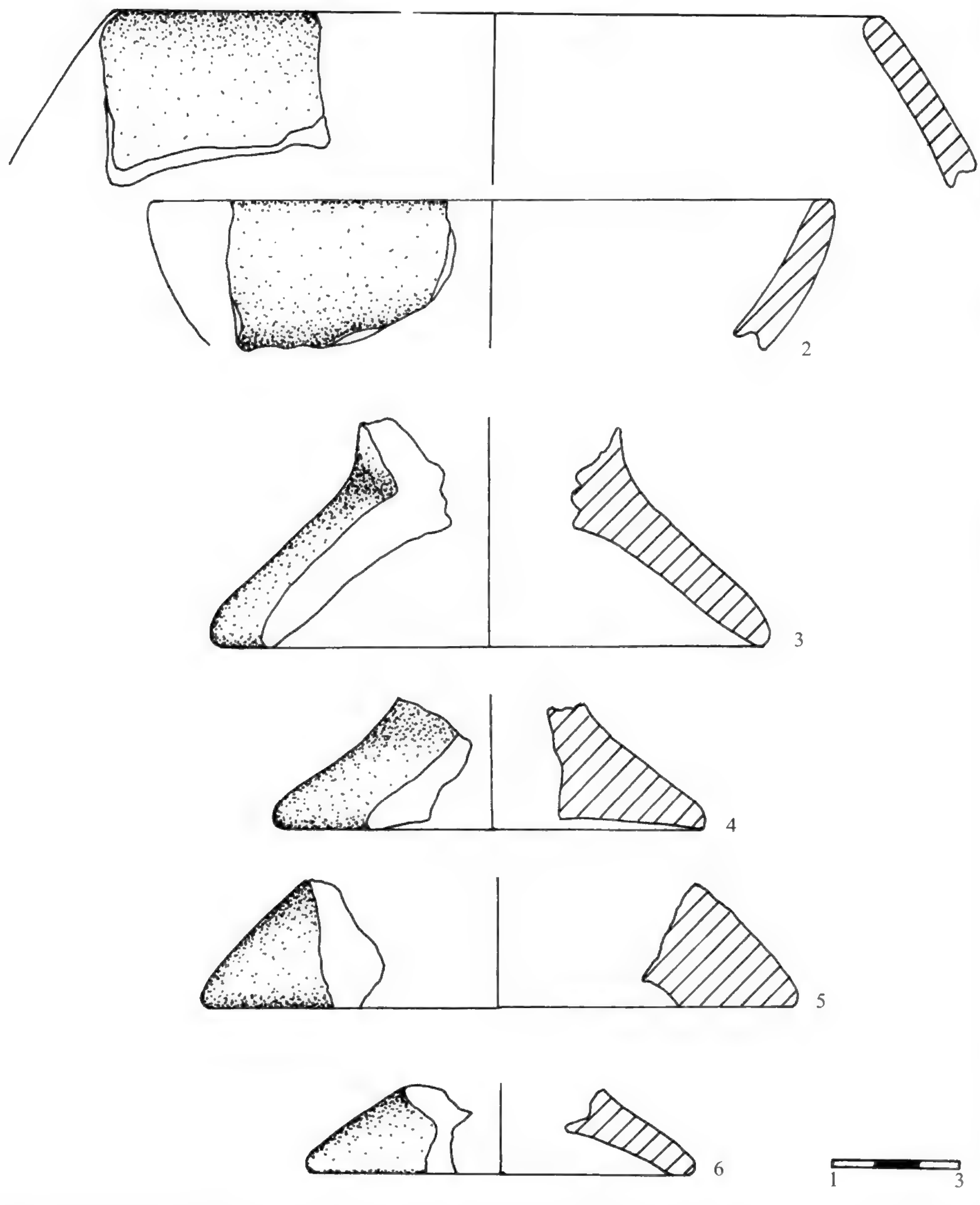

Plate 5

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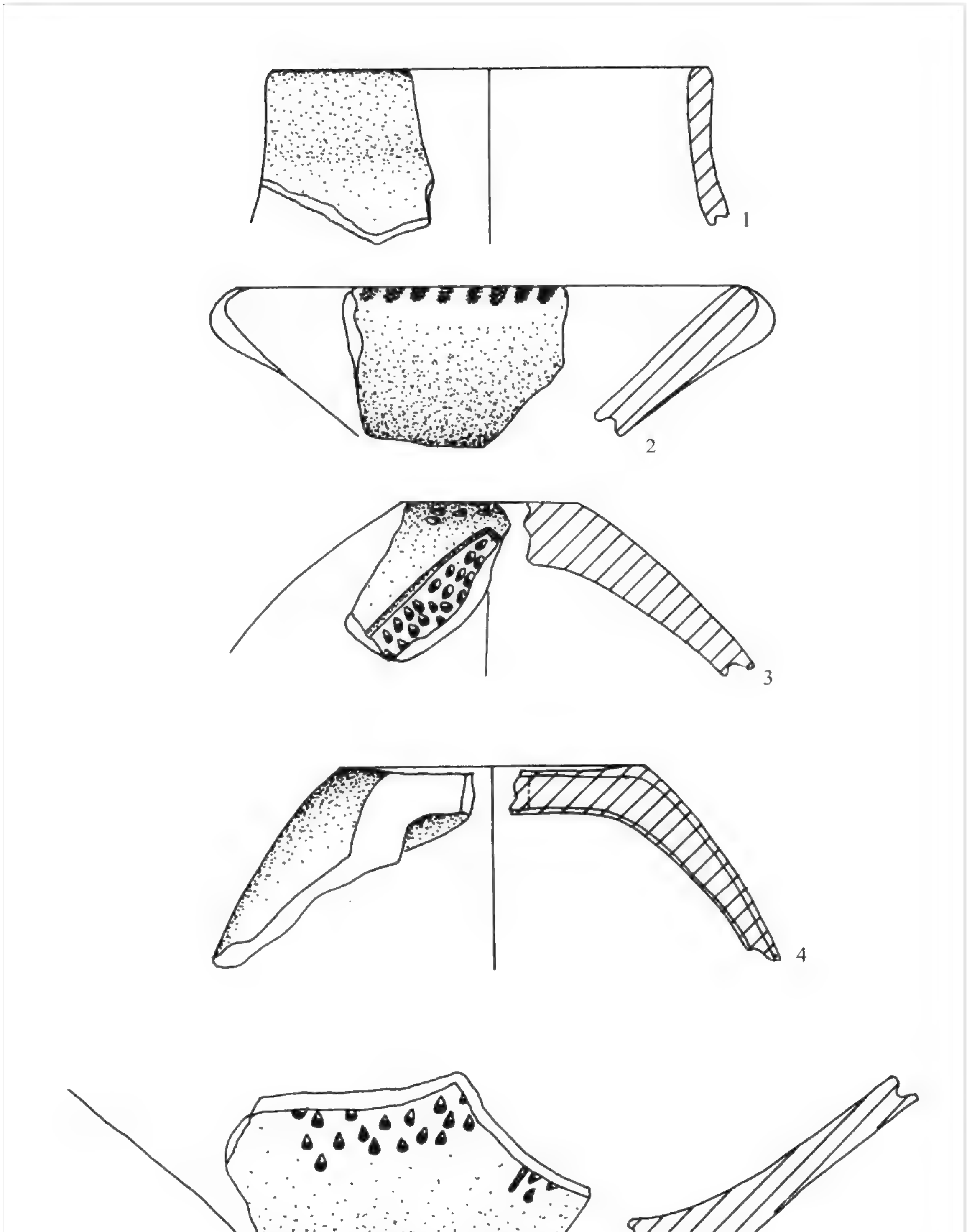

Plate 6

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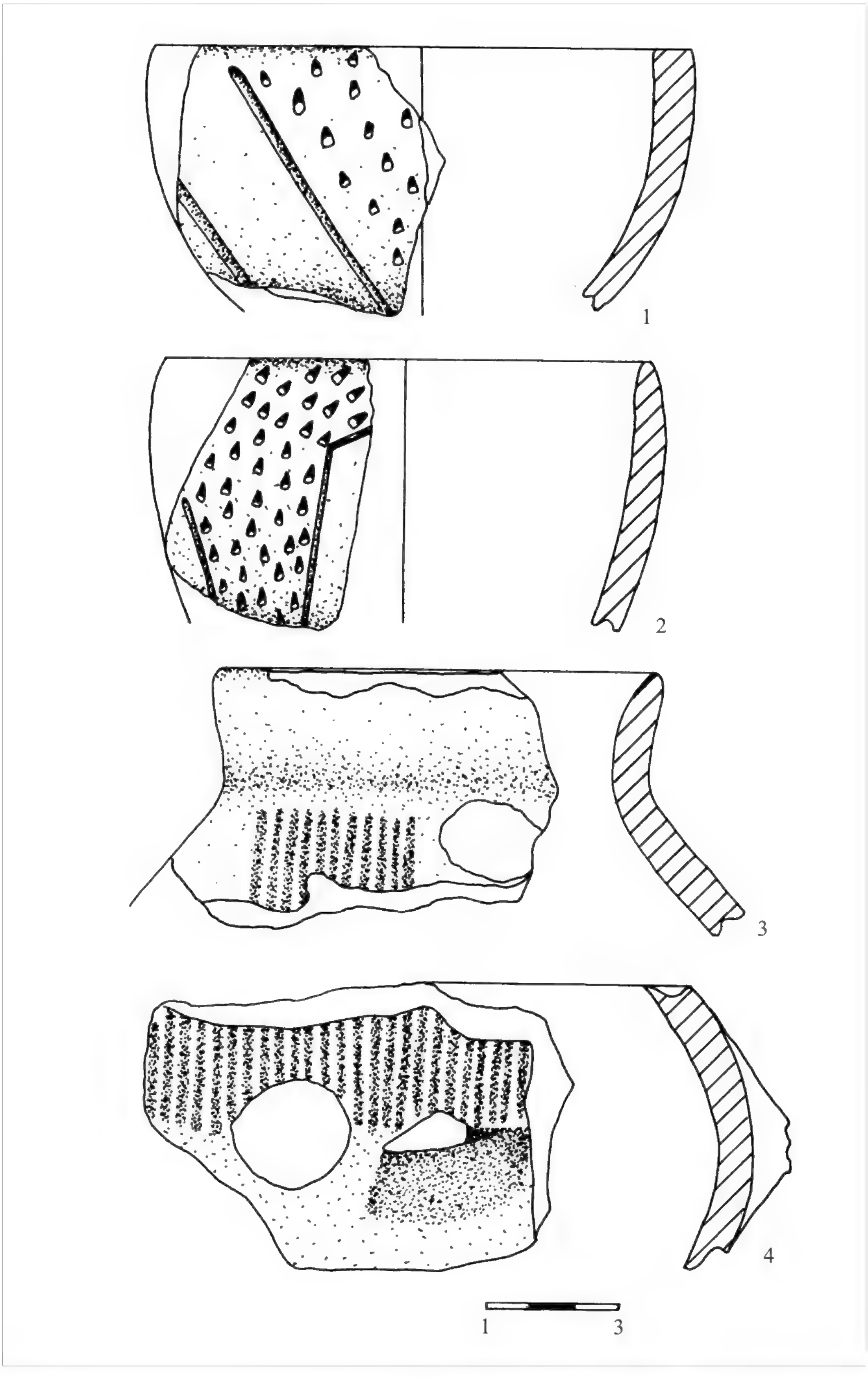

Plate 7

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BETWEEN FOOD NEEDING AND SPORTS ACTIVITY HUNTING IN THE GETO-DACIAN[1] ARREAS

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Abstract: *A less studied issue concerning Geto-Dacians is represented by hunting. In this paper we tried to approach this topic from several points of view: the beasts, the weapons, hunting together with horses, hounds, falconry or using some magical practices in hunting. To clarify some aspects regarding how they use the armament, we developed some experiments, using arrows manufactured as replicas of original models discovered in the Dacian fortress from Ardeu.*
Keywords: *Hunting, Arrowheads, Spearheads, Dacians, Wild animals*

Rezumat: *Vânătoarea este un subiect mai puţin abordat în literatura arheologică cu privire la geto-daci. Cu acest prilej, am abordat tema din mai multe unghiuri, incluzând fondul cinegetic, armamentul folosit, ajutorul acordat de către animale dresate în acest scop sau de către anumite practici magice. Pentru a lămuri unele aspecte privind armamentul, am realizat şi unele teste, folosind săgeţi confecţionate de noi după modele originale, descoperite în cetatea dacică de la Ardeu.*
Cuvinte cheie: *Vânătoare, Vârfuri de săgeţi, Vârfuri de suliţă, Daci, Animale sălbatice*

Source of food or raw materials, hunting is one of the occupations indirectly attested by the archaeological finds from the Geto-Dacian population. Several pieces of weapons were used, probably for hunting or exclusively for hunting (Popa 1971, 275). But the most numerous and detailed information about this topic is provided to us by the tests that are made on bone material. Paleofaunistic studies led to the identification, together with livestock waste, of other hard materials (bones, horns, teeth, etc.) from wild creatures. Meat, antlers or fur of wild animals were important motivations for hunters, representing primarily a source of food, but also of raw material for various crafts (Sîrbu 1996, 39, Green 2002, 51-52, 54-55). For many ancient populations, hard animal materials could be used as trophies, as evidence of mastery hunter. Many times, different parts of the body of the animal were turned into amulets to protect the one who wore them against evil forces of wildlife or spells.

[1] We are using the term Geto-Dacians refering only to the populations living on both sides of the Charpatians, and we do not mean about some ethnic connotations.

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An example is given in our ancient knowledge encyclopedia: "...
Persons having about them a deer's tooth, or who have taken the precaution of rubbing the body with a deer or fawn's marrow, will be sure to repel the attacks of all serpents."[1] (Plinius 28. 42). May thus explain the presence of a perforated deer teeth to be worn as an amulet, in the inventory of a Dacian grave in Hunedoara (Sirbu et all 2007, 38). But the example is not unique, as Plinius and other ancient writers mention such practices, using various objects obtained from wild animals. For the Celtic world, it was observed that some species such as bears, which were probably hunted, can be located only in burial or sacred contexts (Green 2002, 51).

Animals hunted by the Geto-Dacians

The faunal remains found in archaeological sites of the second Iron Age in Romania are quite well known (El Susi, 2008, 171), and research has shown that in general, the Geto-Dacian hunters prefer large animals (Bindea 1999, 97 ; Hriscu, Bajenaru, Udrescu 1997, 100). However, in the economy of most Dacian communities that were

[1] English version taken from: http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.02.0137%3Abook%3D28%3Achapter%3D42

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investigated, hunting does not take a high role in nutrition, if we consider that the share of bones of wild animals is quite low (Bindea 1999, 97) and that some species that were identified, were only occasionally hunted (Sîrbu 1996, 39; Bindea 199, 97; Hriscu, Bejenaru, Udrescu 1997, 100). The lowest share of wild animals in relation to domestic, about 4-5%, was recorded in the archaeological sites belonging to the Getae tribes, located in the Romanian Plain. But in certain sites, such as those in the Banat region, studies have revealed a higher percentage of bone quarries, which reaches almost 30% (Bindea 1997, 97, Fig. 8). There are also intermediate situations, such as the settlements in Sighisoara (El Susi 1997, 154), or Grădiştea, Brăila County (Sîrbu 1996, 39), where the remains of wild animals are in proportion of 13-14%.

A higher percentage of wild animals hunted is registered in Şimleu Depression. In the settlement and fortification from *Cetate* archaeological site, a representative sample of bone fragments (El Susi, 2008, 162) could result in a rate exceeding 30%, both in terms of total number of bones, and number of individuals (El Susi 2008, 170).

This discrepancy may have been determined by the relief in each zone, which determines the hunting fund, but other issues can and should be taken into account. The amount of osteologic material that was analyzed must be considered, but also the fact that there are more fragile bones of small animals and thus are more exposed to degradation. We also have to consider that some animals were hunted mainly for their fur (Green 2002, 52), and in some cases the meat was not consumed (El Susi 2006, 275). Among the animals hunted for their fur that were rarely eaten in the second Iron Age we can include fox or badger (Green 54). Is it possible for the fur to be processed outside the dwelling, maybe at the place where the animal was hunted. Sometimes, archaeological records show, even if indirectly and with some degree of probability, the existence of wild animal fur in Dacian dwellings. At Racoş – „Tipia Ormenişului" (Braşov County), a phalanx of bear seems to have reached that place together with the animal fur (El Susi 2006, 273). The small number of bones of animals hunted for their fur that are usually present in the archaeological sites is a reality also in the Celtic area, although the frequency with which they were hunted has to be higher compared with the evidence of this practice (Green 2002, 54 - 55).

Also, we must take into account the many factors that influence the frequency of the presence of traces of wild animal species in different archaeological sites (Udrescu 1989, 289).

Among the identified species we can include: deer (*Cervus elaphus*), wild boar (*Sus scrofa ferus*), aurochs (*bos primigenius*), deer (*capreolus capreolus*), bear (*Ursus arctos*), fox (*Vulpes vulpes*), hare (*Lepus europaeus*), beaver (*Castor fiber*), badger (*Meles meles*), wild cat (*Felis silvestris*) or ferret (*Putorius putorius*) (Udrescu 1989, 289). The first two species listed appear to have been the most hunted wild animals by the Geto-Dacian (Hriscu, Bejenaru, Udrescu 1997, 100).

The less important role for the diet of Geto-Dacian communities is not an isolated fact in the second Iron Age in temperate European climate. The low number of bones of wild animals in Celtic archaeological sites shows that hunting for food is not of much importance (Green 2002, 46). In connection with this matter Miranda Green, referring to hunting wild boars, suggested that even though the animals were hunted, their flesh was not brought in the settlement, but, maybe, it was consumed in the forest (Green 2002, 46). Regarding the Geto-Dacian sites, it appeared that wild boar is among the most hunted species present in the findings. Sometimes, as in the case of the archaeological site from Şimleul Silvaniei – "Observator", he was the most hunted species, proportions reaching values of 14.8% (El Susi, 2008, 169). The situation is entirely different by comparison with other areas inhabited by the Celts, where rabbit appears to be the most hunted species, mainly for food (Green 2002, 50-51). But these preferences were determined, no doubt by the natural environment specific to each site.

As can be seen, among the wild species that are present in archaeological discoveries, we can include both large and smaller animals. This implies different hunting techniques and strategies and also weapons adapted for each case. It is well known the record of Caesar referring to special animals living in Hercynic Forest (Caesar BG, VI.26, 27, 28). This includes the aurochs, which he called "uri" that looks like a bull that was slightly smaller than an elephant. The same source referred to his agility, thus: "*These the Germans take with much pains in pits and kill them. The young men harden themselves with this exercise, and practice themselves in this kind of hunting,*

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and those who have slain the greatest number of them, having produced the horns in public, to serve as evidence, receive great praise."[2] (Caesar BG, VI. 28). For such animals, the Dacians could use similar techniques, taking into account the fact that the Dacians, as the Germans that Caesar referred to, lived near the Hercynic Forest (Caesar BG, VI, 25). The mention referring to the prestige acquired by young people that manage to hunt beasts, could also explain the small number of bones in each site, but at the same time, their constant presence. On the Valley of the Crasna River, affluent to the Tisza River, on the archaeological site of Şimleul Silvaniei – „Cetate", bull's bones percentage is 2.3%, accounting parts of six individuals of medium size (El Susi 2008, 170). It is possible that this animal has been cherished by the Dacian society mainly because it gave prestige to the hunter. The proof of this supposition could be represented by the animal horns, but due to their organic nature (Deschler-Erb 2005, 37) they are rarely preserved. It's good to note the fact that, at least in certain areas, such as the Banat, starting from the period we are studying, aurochs became increasingly rare presence (El Susi 1996, 193), probably due to its excessive hunting.

Bovine large figurative art are present in the Geto-Dacian civilisation (Crisan 1986, 414-415; Florea 1995-1996, 1960-1961, Florea 1998, 215-217), a clear example being the zoomorphic and the vegetable representations on the discs (the so called "Dacian ornamental shields") found at Piatra Roșie (Daicoviciu 1954, 119/120, Fig 39/40, Florea, Suciu, 1995; Florea Ferencz 2004-2005).

The most common and largest amounts of proofs are found in the Geto-Dacian civilisation in the stag bones and antlers (Hriscu, Bejenaru, Udrescu 1997, 100). This animal was probably hunted with bow and arrow, if we consider the mentions of Plinius the Elder (Plinius, 8, 50). Being a large animal, could provide a significant quantity of meat. But we must not forget that the animal has also other benefits that he can offer. And we mean here the horns which are a relatively easy processing material, which could be transformed into various objects. The skin is not to be omitted from the list of animal benefits. And last but not least, as noted above, some parts of the body could be also used as protective amulets with beneficial role. Moreover, even meat can be eaten as a cure for current diseases, as Plinius the Elder noted that it was a usual custom in the Roman world (Plinius 8, 50).

A source of raw materials for workshops was also the "gathering" of deer antlers in the woods. For the Roman world, this method of harvesting was most frequently used by artisans (Deschler-Erb 2005, 37). These methods for procuring raw materials are attested archaeologically by the presence in the workshop of Ardeu of horns with intact rosettes. They indicate just such a procedure (Ferencz 2010, 82). Therefore, we believe that, in order to calculate the total number of hunted animals, it should not be taken into account just the bones of the deer. Horns can be considered only when found together with the skeleton.

Among the large animals that were hunted by the Geto-Dacian we can include bear. Generally it occurs in small numbers, but this may be due to various causes. One possible explanation is the prevalence of certain parts of the body, which could have a bigger value to hunters, such as fur, paws and teeth. This conclusion could be supported by the phalanx of a bear found in Racoş – „Tipia Ormenişului, which may also be an evidence of the presence of bear skins (El Susi 2006, 273). Also, the fact that out of the 24 bone fragments from three individuals found at Simleul Silvaniei „Cetate", 23 are from the region of the feet, is an argument that supports the same idea (El Susi, 2008, 170).

The weapons of the hunters

The weapons or accessories that are parts of weapons are among the largest archaeological evidence of hunting. Spears, lances and arrows are the weapons that were used, most probably, for hunting also. Such objects have been discovered in big number in the Dacian settlements and citadels. In which concerns the spearheads and the lances, they were made of iron, have an elongated shaped, with the central rib more or less pronounced. All specimens were fitted with tail holster (Glodariu, Iaroslavschi 1979, 132-137). The difference between the lance and the spear according to researchers is the size, lower in the latter case (Glodariu, Iaroslavschi 1979, 135). These dimensional differences were dictated by the functionality of those weapons. While the

[2] English version taken from: http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.02.0001%3Abook%3D6%3Achapter%3D28

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spear was thrown, the lace was used to push the remote prey or enemy.
They were used for hunting large animals and were handled from horseback or on foot. Miranda Green noted that the lance and spear were commonly used by hunters (Green 2002, 56). A spear tip was accidentally discovered near Dacian fortress from Cozia peak (Fig. 1/6). The citadel is still not investigated and unpublished, but some surveys have revealed its existence a few decades ago (Valea, Mărghitan 1969). The piece has an elongated shape, with pronounced median rib, tube for the stock and has the following dimensions:
L – 23 cm; Ltube – 7,2 cm; lmax – 2,8 cm; Dext – 1,5 cm; Dint – 1,1 cm; weight – 139, 16 g.

The tube, very narrow, only 1.1 cm inside shows that the tail was thin it probably dogwood or other material, elastic and durable at the same time. The weapon was certainly one to cast, because of its low weight and its suppleness.
For better understanding how they manufacture this kind of weapons, we made a replica. We had used a steel slice and the piece was made to forge by hot hammering (Fig 1/7). Our spearhead replica has some close dimensions as the original, but it isn't identical.

Another type of items that are common in the Dacian settlements and citadels, which were probably used for hunting, are arrowheads. Hunting with bow and arrow was a significant evolutionary leap in the approach to this occupation. This weapon allows hitting a target from a distance, without considerable physical effort and without the archer to be exposed. It is clear that this invention belongs to the modern man (*Homo sapiens*), the oldest stone arrowheads being dated in the Upper Paleolithic (Cârciumaru 2000, 88). The earliest arrow rods were found at Stellmoor, in Germany and dates from the Mesolithic and the earliest bows archaeologically documented are 8,000 years old and were found at Holmegaard, Denmark (Grayson et all 2007, 1).

From Paleolithic to the present (in some areas of Earth) the bow and arrow have developed a lot, but the basic principles remained the same. The bow can be defined as a strip of wood or other elastic material, anchored and tensioned at both ends by a cord, while the term "arrow" means a projectile launched by a spring, generally consisting of a thin body with a pointed end and feathers at the other end (Grayson et all 2007, 2).

Geographical and climate differences, but also the nature of the target that would be hit has resulted in differentiated development of the bow and arrow in space and time. Hunting in the forests of Europe that offered different conditions than in the steppes of Asia, using the spring of pedestrian or riding position, using this weapon to hunt or to war, lead to a wide range of types of bows and arrows in Antiquity (Petculescu 2002, 766).

If in terms of geography, the distribution of the types of arrowheads is easy to be done, from a functional perspective, it is difficult to say whether certain types of arrowheads were used exclusively in hunting or war. However, we can define two types of heads that, by their properties, can be considered best suited for hunting or for war.

On the one hand those with small, elongated and thin dimensions (pyramidal with rod, pyramidal with tube, with three fins) designed to a deep penetration of the target, can be regarded as specialized peaks in piercing armor and causing some deep wounds to lead to damage of vital organs and thus to eliminate the opponent as quickly as possible. Instead, bigger broad heads, in form of leafs, have the purpose of cutting the target, causing a deep wound but less wide, which often involves a slow death, caused by large amounts of blood loss. Thus we conclude that the second category is more conducive to hunting animals, whose meat is a source of food. For such a conclusion leads the finding that, for a better preservation of meat, it must contain as little blood as possible.

In which concerns the bow, being made of organic materials, it is not found in archaeological discoveries. However, Dacian warriors wielding bows were represented on the Column of Trajan (Fig. 2/1). It is a small compound bow, similar to that used by the Sarmatians (Bârcă 1999-2000, 407-408). Such an arc is represented on a Dacian coin series with a bow- type Tulghieş-Miresu Mare, dated in the second century BC (Preda 1973, 82-83).

Arrowheads found in the Geto-Dacian sites were made of iron, bronze and hard animal materials. The typological variety of the pieces of this kind has been emphasized by researchers (Glodariu, Iaroslavschi 1979, 135-137). However, only some were probably used for hunting. I believe that metal arrows with the head in the shape of a leaf and the conical ones made of horn, were best

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suited for hunting, ensuring a large amount of animal blood loss.

At Ardeu among the objects found in the place of a workshop (Ferencz 2010, 83), we can include three arrowheads, one iron, one bronze and one made of antler. All this material joins a rich fauna, many pieces having traces of processing. This fact can be interpreted from the perspective that they were part of artisan tools. The three objects have the following dimensions:

1. Arrowhead made of iron (Fig. 1/3): L – 5 cm, l preserved – 1,7 cm, D ext – 0, 9, D int – 0, 6 cm, weight – 5,71 g. MCDR – DEVA, no inv. Number.

2. Arrowhead made of bronze (Fig. 1/1): L preserved – 4,2 cm, l preserved – 2,1 cm, Dext – 0,8 cm, Dint – 0, 6 cm, weight – 6, 28 g, MCDR – DEVA, no inv. Number.

3: Arrowhead made of antler (Fig. 1/5): L – 5,7 cm, D ext – 1,3 cm, D int – 0, 9 cm, weight – 6,52 g. MCDR – DEVA, no inv. Number.

All three arrowheads weights fall within the category of those that could be powered by bow, taking into account the observations of the researcher Elisabeth Erdmann (Erdmann 1982, 10). Liviu Petculescu, analyzing the weapons which show the presence in Roman Dacia of oriental archers, considered that the smallest and lightest arrowheads with bone nocks were used for hunting small animals (Petculescu 2002, 766). In connection with the Daco-Getic space, such bone nocks are known only from the hill-fort at Poiana (Petculescu, Nicu 2000, 211, no 11-12). Their presence, along with the type of bow used can represent an oriental influence, and the small number discoveries can only be a consequence of the actual progress of archaeological research and publication.

Tests of target penetration

The theoretical knowledge we have so far allow us to have some idea of the effectiveness of certain weapons. To check the power of penetration of two different types of arrowheads found in the Dacian fortress from Ardeu, we proposed to carry out a series of experimental tests. For the two arrows that were made, we designed the following parameters:

1. Iron arrowhead (Fig. 1/2) was made to forge by hot hammering. The initial iron piece was widened at one end as a trapezoid, which later became the tube as a truncated cone. The opposite end was thinned in the shape of a stake and was later widened to form a leaf. The entire process took about 20 minutes, resulting in an arrowhead with a length of 5.7 cm and a weight of 8 grams. The size of the piece is as follows: L - 5.7 cm, L - 1.8 cm, Dext - 0.8 cm, Dint - 0.6 cm, weight - 8 g.

The arrow shaft was made of dry walnut wood, with a length of 80 cm and a diameter of 0.6 cm and the plumage consists of 3 wings made of hawk feathers fastened with glue and beef tendon fibers.

2. Antler arrowhead (Fig. 1/4) was made by carving and sanding a top branch antler. Carving and cutting was done with an axe and the finish was made with sandstone. The tube was made by gouging the spongy tissue with a knife. Thus we obtained a conical arrowhead with a length of 5.6 cm and weigh of 6.6 grams. The size of the piece are as follows: L - 5.6 cm, Dext - 1.3 cm, tooth - 0.9 cm, weight - 6.6 g.
The rod and feathers are similar to the case of the first arrow, the only difference being that in this case the rod length is 90 cm and a diameter of 0.9 cm.

For testing we used a composite bow (Fig. 2/ 2) of medium power (40 #) and a polystyrene target with a thickness of 10 cm (Fig. 2/ 4). The shooting distance was between 25-30 meters, each of the two arrows being powered 5 times. To create a constant tension of the rope arrow bow, the rods were measured and marked at the same distance from the nock.

After the tests it was found that iron-tipped arrow penetrated the target on lengths of 19-20 cm (Fig. 2/3) while the conical horn-tipped arrow penetrated the target on lengths of 16-17 cm (Fig. 2/3), but producing larger holes. Test results prove the ability of the two projectiles to penetrate a target and cause deep injuries (Fig. 2/5,6). In the case of a wild game, both arrows would have caused the bleeding of the animal, but the arrow tip of antler would have caused a larger wound and probably more abundant bleeding. This would be shortened, perhaps, the route that would be covered from the time when the animal was hit until he had fallen exhausted. It should be noted that for a horse hunter the distance crossed by the wounded animal might not have mattered. Considering the fact that the original piece was discovered in an artisan workshop this detail can be viewed from another perspective. It is possible that the hunter in question may not have used the horse and sometimes he could have simply

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preferred to use such arrows. In other cases it seems that the most used arrows are those made of iron or bronze. The variety of arrows types is a consequence of the adaptation of the archer to targets that had to be struck (Petculescu 2002, 766).

Domestic animals as aids to hunting

Dogs and horses were perceived in Antiquity as the most faithful animals (Plinius, 8, 61). The use or training of dogs by Geto-Dacians, for combat, hunting or trade, have not been documented by historical sources, as Strabo recorded in connection with the Celts in Britain (Strabo, IV, 5.2). However, the large number of whole skeletons of dogs found in the Geto-Dacian contexts may be an indication of the close relationship between man and animal. The fact that compared to other types of animals, dogs are deposited whole in a very high percentage (Sîrbu 1993a, 48, Sîrbu 1993b, 109), could be an additional argument. Of these quadrupeds, it is possible that some have been used in hunting. The presence in some cases of the buried dog in the tomb or near the tomb of an aristocrat warrior can be a sign of emotional connection between man and dog, which can be a friend, guardian of home and a reliable aid to hunting (Sirbu 1993b, 109).

The image of a dog accompanying a warrior in battle or hunting is present on a silver *phalera* discovered at Surcea, Covasna County (Mărghitan, 1976, 54-55, Pl XXXIX). The rider is equipped with sword and seems to be accompanied not only by a large dog but a bird of prey, perhaps a species of eagle, which appears to be resting on his shoulder. I believe that the image is rather the one of a hunter. Such a representation of the hunter, armed like a warrior with spear, sword and shield, riding or pedestrian, accompanied by dogs is common in the Celtic world (Green 2002, 60). The hunter depicted in scene on the vessel found at Gundestrup is also armed with sword (Megaw, Megaw 2001, 174, Fig. 283-284).

The archaeological finds seem to document the existence of the Dacian large dogs. A series of dog skeletons found in various sites have a medium and even large size compared with contemporary canine species. The dimensions and appearance of powerful animals have led to speculation that during that time there could have been a concern for crossings between dog and wolf. And the result seems to be a herding dog like that of today, which could have multiple uses: for guarding or hunting (El Susi 2006, 273). For the same conclusion advocates a skull fragment from Şimleul Silvaniei – „Cetate" that belongs to a dog whose dimensions approach those of a wolf (El Susi, 2008, 168). Such cross between dog and wolf are certified and the Celts (Plinius, 8, 61).

Hunting with dogs was widely practiced in ancient times. For the Celtic world is well known the where scene found on the famous Gundestrup cauldron where a large ox, perhaps a bull appears to die while being attacked by hounds (Megaw, Megaw 2001, 174, Fig. 283-284). Celts in Britain trained hunting dogs to be sold to the Romans (Strabo IV, 5, 2). Finally, Arrian describes the hunting of hares with dogs that led them to traps (Arian XXI) and examples could continue.

Horses, in their capacity as companion of the warrior, found its utility also in hunting, even though they were expensive creatures and difficult to maintain (Green 2002, 53). As hunting dogs, horses had to be endowed with special qualities (Green 2002, 47). Strabo noted that in the Celtic society both horses and dogs enjoyed privileged positions because of their usefulness in hunting (Strabo, IV, 4). But the same position seems to be occupied by two animals in the Geto-Dacian communities, considering the fact that in the Dacian art they are depicted in relation to the rider (Florea 1995-1996, 63). This idea is supported by the burial of horses, whose number equals that of dogs (Sirbu 1993a, 49) or the ones of horses accompanying their masters in the tomb, as is the case in the tumulus II from Cugir (Crisan 1980, 82).

Hunting using trained birds of prey, an activity that seems to be suggested in the scene depicted on the *phalerae* drom Surcea (Mărghitan 1976, 54, Fig. XXXIX) is not an isolated case. In a work dedicated to animals in everyday life and in Celtic mythology, Miranda Green expressed the opinion that falconry was practiced in the second Iron Age (Green 2002, 56). The scene depicted on the *phalerae* from Surcea to which we referred, reminds of the reverse of the coin of "knight with bird", which have circulated, probably in the first half of the second century and whose range extends wide areas in the eastern Carpathian basin (Preda 1973, 71-75). Those representations may be considered an evidence of practicing this form of hunting in this part of Europe during the second Iron Age. A detail that might have some relevance

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seems to be indicated by the area of spreading of these coins (Preda 1973, Fig. 6). Although few in number, most of them are found on the hills, but on the courses water, which in most cases represent the most important communication routes.

Finally, Plinius the Elder describes how it took place in northern Thrace the hunting with birds of pray (Pliny 10, 10).

The image of hunter in the Dacian communities seems to be that of knights-hunters, sometimes accompanied by dogs and birds of prey. They were probably hunters belonging to the highest classes of society, as it was also assumed for the Celtic area (Green 2002, 56). This hypothesis is supported by the figurative representations on objects with a clear character of prestige, such as the *phalerae* from Surcea or on the back of monetary issues - symbols of authority, the peaks aristocracy. They were probably warriors and maybe practicing hunting as a sport, as a daily exercise and education aiming prowess and courage to fight.

Another kind of hunting was practiced, perhaps by people with more modest condition - involving the use of traps or pitfalls. It can be attached to food and crop protection against pests purposes (Green 2002, 58). Such a conclusion was drawn from the study of the fauna material discovered at Şimleul Silvaniei – „Cetate" (El Susi, 2008, 171).

Also, for the purchase of raw materials of animal origin, used in various trades, it is possible that even the artisans could procure the wild game. They could have used use both weapons, such as bow and arrow, but also pitfalls, snares, lassos and traps. This could be the case of the artisan whose workshop was researched in part at Ardeu.

Aid given to the hunter by magic practices

Hunting, as well as war was not a danger less activity. Besides being involved a struggle between hunter and hunted, a confrontation involving the respect for the "enemy", it lead to an imbalance in the harmony of nature, which still, had to be maintained (Green 2002, 60). Therefore any help, from any direction, to tip the scales in favor of one or another direction is more than welcomed. Miranda Green noted that the relationship between hunter and prey is equivocal and ambiguous (Green 2002, 60). From this perspective it must be observed on one hand the role that some deities have played (Green 2002, 65) and on the other, the request for help of some specialized people, who, by magic, intend to ensure a successful hunting. On the existence of such practices in the Geto-Dacian communities, is advocating the existence of real "magic kits" (Sîrbu 1993, 136). This kind of support seems to be called by both common people and wealthy and important members of society (Sîrbu 1993c, 137). It can not be overlooked that on the ceramic representations of animals in the Geto-Dacian area, wildlife predominates over the domestic one (Sîrbu 1995, 189).

Conclusions

Summarizing what was presented so far, we believe we can outline some features, general and particular of a less studied area in respect of the Geto-Dacians. Valuable information for this approach has been provided to us by analyzes of animal bones found in the Geto-Dacian settlements and fortresses. Meanwhile, excavations have uncovered weapons, some of which were used also in hunting or exclusively in hunting. The picture is completed in a happy way with representations on different types of objects, images in which the function of communication and messages conveying and therefore, the information can not be challenged (Florea 2004, 84; Florea 2010, 287). The texts of ancient authors also recorded descriptions of places, events, beings, techniques or technologies used in their times.

All these shows that, in respect to the Geto-Dacian (El Susi 2006, 275), as applicable to other communities in Europe and the second Iron Age (Green 2002, 44), the most important role in hunting activity was not to produce food. Animals both large and small were targeted, the preferred species being deer and wild boar. Birds of pray are found frequently, but their number is small. Hunting to obtain leather is difficult to prove through archaeological research, but some animals such as fox, badger, and bear are represented in small numbers among the materials analyzed bone. In the same manner, the purchase of raw materials for certain crafts, such as the bone and horn processing is likely to be among the motivations of this work. Some animals could have been hunted for the healing qualities of certain organs or meat. Also, sometimes hunting seems aimed at protecting crops against pests.

We should not overlook the evidence who reveals that hunting was often practiced as a "sport" as an activity with an education role in forming the

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warrior character, or even one with an initiating role. Hunting was practiced by the highest representatives of the society but also by the people are on different social levels.

Among the weapons used can be included: spear, lance or sword, for large animal, bow and arrow, for small animals and even deer. We believe that traps, snares, lassos and pitfalls, which do not facilitate a confrontation between hunters and hunted, were used mostly by ordinary people. However, traps were sometimes used for large animals such as wild boar and aurochs, as some sources noted.

Horse, dog and falconry were used to hunt by the Geto-Dacians, just as in some cases, for good luck, people asked for help the magical powers of "specialized" people.

Our short incursion in the details of this subject revealed its general features, but the Geto-Dacian hunting remains an issue that has many aspects waiting to be discovered.

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LIST OF ILLUSTRATION/LISTA ILUSTRAŢIILOR

Fig. 1. 1. Bronze arrowhead discovered in Ardeu; 2. Iron arrowhead, replica, made by Marius Barbu; 3. Iron arrowhead discovered in Ardeu; 4. Antler arrowhead, replica, made by Marius Barbu; 5. Antler arrowhead discovered in Ardeu; 6. Iron spearhead discovered in the Piatra-Coziei Dacian fortress surroundings; 7. Iron spearhead replica, made by Marius Barbu (photo M. Barbu).

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Fig. 2. Imagine de pe Columna lui Traian reprezentând luptători daci trăgând cu arcul reflex; 2. Arcul şi cele două săgeţi utilizate de noi în cadrul experimentului; 3. Cele două săgeţi utilizate de noi. Semnele indică adâncimea de penetrare; 4. Ţinta folosită; 5-6 Ţinta penetrată de cele două săgeţi (foto Marius Barbu).

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Fig. 1.

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Fig. 2.

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INCINERATED KNIGHTS FROM HUNEDOARA-*GRĂDINA CASTELULUI (PLATEAU)*(HUNEDOARA COUNTY). (THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL CAMPAIGNS FROM 2008 AND 2009)

Cristian ROMAN*
Sabin Adrian LUCA**

***Abstract**: The archaeological diggings from Grădina Castelului continued for the past almost 20 years. Among the most important discoveries in the extremity called Plateau is a very important cemetery formed of incineration tombs belonging to knights-worriors, with a funerary inventory specific for its age.*
***Keywords**: Latène, incineration tombs, Hunedoara-Grădina Castelului (Platou)*

***Rezumat**: Săpăturile arheologice noi din punctul Grădina Castelului continuă de aproape 20 de ani. Între descoperirile foarte importante din extremitatea numită Platou se află şi un cimitir important format din morminte de incineraţie aparţinând unor cavaleri-războinici cu un inventar funerar specific epocii*
***Cuvinte cheie**: Latène, morminte de incineraţie (cimitir), Hunedoara-Grădina Castelului (Platou)*

This article continues the previous publication of the archaeological contexts in this important sector of the archaeological site in Hunedoara Castle (Plateau) (Sirbu et al., 2006; Sirbu et al., 2007; Sirbu et al., 2007a), with the intention to bring to the attention of the specialists of the full findings resulting from successive archaeological campaigns that were undertook here.

The campaign of 2008 was focused on integrated research trench S. XII (length 5 m, width 2 m), located to the east, following trench S. XI, in order to grasp new archaeological complexes on the east side of the site. Following this campaign we were able to draw conclusions on the stratigraphy of the eastern area of this sector of the site, being researched one cremation grave belonging to the Dacian era. The other archaeological materials are representative for the Middle Hallstatt period (Basarabi culture), Early Middle Ages, Late Middle Ages and modern times.

The stratigraphy is very simple and is part of the matrix known from previous years. Regarding the researched grave (numbered C.73), we note that the cremated bones were deposited in two distinct areas, adjacent or in a natural dent (area A, depth 0.36 to 0.44 m), above a thin brown-gray level of earth (limit of c.2, 3) and in a carving in the archaeological layer (sector B). In the filling of the natural dent mentioned above were discovered atypical pottery fragments belonging in terms of technological characteristics, to Basarabi culture. The bottom part of the carving emphasize the contact between a limestone back slightly visible in relief due to geo-chemical alterations and the carbonate surrounding areas, less siliceous.

The deposit was covered by a black-gray level, granular, which had in composition was small and medium fragments of crushed dolomite and in sector A have been reported charcoal residues on the calcined bone debris. The funeral inventory of the deceased was composed of a curved dagger with sheath (sector B) and a top metal part bent at right angles, two fragments of bracelet, an awl, and a conical object made of sandstone (sector A). The dagger was oriented North-South, had a distorted ritual handle and the sheath was superimposed. At the edge between squares 1 and 2, depth 0.4 m, were discovered remains of iron buckles. In S. XII, square 1, at 0.29 m depth outside the complex C.73, near complex C.71, identified in S XI was revealed a Hellenistic silver coin (diameter 1.5 x 1.7 cm, thickness 1.5 mm, MCC - inv 5222 - Figure 1/9), issued by Dyrrachium. On the obverse is observed a calf nursing from the cow and above, hardly readable, an eagle and on the reverse, floral motifs. The Conservation status is good, the artifact being worn-out. (DYRRACHIUM, ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ / ΚΑΛΛΩΝΟΣ, AR, drachma, 2,33 g., 16,3 x 17,2 mm., Front side: [ΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ]; Back side:

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ΔΥ[Ρ/ΚΑΛ/ΛΩ/Ν]ΟΣ; Ceka 322;).The coin is part of the last series of coins of Dyrrachium, issued at the beginning of the first century BC. (Ceka 1972; Claudiu Munteanu to whom we would like to thank for helping us in dating this coin).
Dating of the archaeological complex: beginning of the first century BC

Description of funeral inventory
In order to identify in terms of the exact position each piece in the graves, they were numbered with a logo containing the complex number and the serial number in the complex inventory.
73.1. Bronze metal fragment (length 1.2 cm, width 0.4 cm, thickness 0.1 cm, MCC - non-inventoried).
73.2. Taper piece (height 3.5 cm, MCC - inv 5223 - fig. 1/1) made of sandstone, whitish gray color, with gray inserts (ribs). The artifact presents a high degree of mechanical rolling, being torn from ancient times.
73.3. Iron tool (length 8.2 cm, MCC - inv 5224 - fig. 1/5), rectangular profile with a thin end and bent at 90°, and the other broke, slightly flat. The piece is thermally deformed.
73.4. Fragmentary buckle of belt with three recovered fragments, of which the most well preserved piece (9.2 cm long maintained, thickness 1 mm, MCC - inv 5227 - fig. 1/6), is the core roll. The shape of the item towards the hook is trapezoidal. Fragmentary; the piece is broken at both ends. On two fragments it is stored the iron frame of the buckle.
73.5. Fragment of bracelet made of silver, rectangular section (Fig. 1/2). The thin end may suggest the way of its termination. The piece is thermally deformed.
73.6. Fragment of bracelet made of silver, rectangular section (Fig. 1/3). One end shows signs of finishing. The piece is thermally deformed, the presence of pseudo-nodules may be the result of this physico-chemical process.
73.7. Arrowhead (iron, length 5.3 cm, MCC - inv 5228 - fig. 1/4) with rectangular cross section; one end is pointed and thin and the other narrowed in order to set a support, most likely made of wood.
73.8. Sheath (length 18.2 cm, diameter 1.6 cm button, MCC - inv 5201 - fig. 1/7), of arched form. It was preserved only the ferrous plate made of 2 mm thick plate. The edges are curved inwards and the extremity is marked by a spherical button. Conservation status is very good.
73.9. Iron dagger (total length 34.9 cm, handle length 13.1 cm, rivet length 2.6 cm, maximum sleeve diameter 3.2 cm, diameter of the oval plate at the end of the handle 2.7 cm, MCC - inv 5200 - fig. 1/8), curved blade with triangular section provided with channel (blood drain) near the edge. A sleeve acting as guard separates the blade from the handle. The guard is decorated with 3 channels, located in the middle of this element. The knife handles were fastened with 3 rivets. The only one preserved is decorated with cruciform motifs. The end of the handle is fixed in an oval plate that supports an oval ring decorated with parallel changelings, less deep, equally spaced. The blade's central part is decorated by embossing, with 5 circular ornaments consisting of two pairs of concentric circles, which are linked by another circle, placed between them. An important aspect is represented by the ritual bending of the handle on the inside part of the dagger. The conservation status is very good.
The archaeological campaign of 2009 had as a purpose to complete the research of tranches S. XIII (14 sqm) and S. XIV (14 sqm), located to the east, parallel to S. XI and S.XII, that were researched in the campaigns of 2007, 2008. There were drawn conclusions on the stratigraphy of the eastern area of the site, being researched two cremation burials belonging to Dacian era and an offering of a bowl. The other archaeological materials, small in quantity, are representative to the Middle Hallstatt (Basarabi culture), Late Middle Ages and modern times.

Description of complexes
C.74. Regarding cremation grave numbered C.74, it was identified in S. XIII, square 4, depth 0.42 to 0.45 m, in S. XIV, square 1, depth 0.35 m and in the archaeological witness between these two sections. Depending on the funeral inventory, we were able to make some observations relevant to the internal structure of the complex and the way it was built. Both metal parts, the pot and bones of the deceased were deposited on a carefully prepared surface, being noticed two areas (groups) of separate filing. On the west side of the square 4 (S. XIII), depth 0.43 to 0.45 m, together with small amount of animal bones, were discovered a thin bronze plate (fragmentary), a fibula, a fragmentary fibula, a bronze pin, a bronze bar (fragmentary), a bronze bracelet (fragmentary), these objects forming group 1 of funeral inventory.
On the eastern side of the square 4 and in its archaeological witness, depth of 0.42 to 0.45 m (area corresponding to the maximum space concentration of artifacts), was discovered the following combination of artifacts (group 2): iron ring, two bronze ornaments, a bead, one bronze pin, one iron buckle with a decorated plate made of bronze, brass rod (fragmentary), superimposed directly by the following items: iron head with bronze handle, a pendant-bolt, bronze bracelet (fragmentary), bronze bracelet (fragment), remains

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of face-protection metal object (3 pieces), a glass bead with "eyes", a glass bead with "eyes" of dark colour, (already cracked when discovered), a massive bronze fibula, a bronze ring, iron piece (fragment), a bracelet with nodule (?) (fragmentary). Corresponding to the depth of 0.42 m, square 1, have been identified a number of pieces: one unidentified bronze artifact, hooks (?), short iron knife blade (?), one buckle accessory, one silver pendant in the shape of a nail. This latter item was not found in situ, being associated with modern ceramics (seventeenth century).
To all depths indicated above, it corresponds to the presence of numerous well cremated bone remains, the highest concentration of which is located in the perimeter of the archaeological witness between S. XIII and S.XIV. Between the cremated remains were discovered very few small remnants of charcoal. We note that the above inventory parts and the cremated remains were covered with a gray color level of earth with small stones and thickness from 0.10 to 0.20 m,. This level of establishment, which contains relatively highly number of ceramic fragments from Basarabi culture and unburned animal bones, is superimposed by a consistent level consisting of dolomite limestone blocks (the final stage of planning), that covers all funeral inventory and the areas in the immediate vicinity of the funeral inventory. The stone structure, lowers to the north, following at the same time the slope determined by the dolomite ridge in this sector of the micro-site as well as by the funeral inventory of the complex. The outline of this arrangement is slightly oval, special attention being given to the placement of stone blocks. After removing the complex inventory, under it, was excavated a thin level (dark gray, granular in appearance, with some stone), belonging to Basarabi culture, until the native rock. This aspect is complemented by observations in Section S. XIV, whereby this Basarabi materials level and rare sherds from Bronze Age, is based on a thin lens, resulting from the disaggregation of limestone.
Dating of the archaeological complex: second half of the first century BC - first half of the first century AD.

Description of funeral inventory

74.1. Bronze bracelet fragment (MCC - A 5284 - fig. 2/1), rectangular section, with slightly rounded edges. Heat affected.
74.2. Fragment of bronze bracelet (?) (MCC - A 5284 - fig. 2/2), strongly thermally deformed.
74.3. Fragments of bronze rings (MCC - A. 5259, 5259b - fig. 2/3), circular section. Heat affected.
74.3b. Fragments of bracelet / bronze bracelet (MCC - A. 5259c, 5259d, 5259 - Fig. 2/4, 5, 7), heat affected.
74.4. Fragment of bronze rod with circular cross-section (Fig. 2/8). Heat affected.
74.5. Bronze bracelet fragment, heat affected (Fig. 2/6).
74.6. Glass bead (diameter 7 mm, inner diameter 2.5 mm, MCC - A 5276 - fig. 2/11), whitish-gray color, semi-opaque.
74.7. Fragmentary iron rod (MCC - A 5283 - fig. 2/12), with oval section, damaged by fire.
74.8. Iron ring (diameter 1.9 cm, MCC - A 5283 - fig. 2/13) of circular cross section.
74.9. Iron ring (length 7 cm, MCC - A. 5264), rectangular section.
74.10. Iron hook, fragmentary (length 2.8 cm, MCC - A 5270 - fig. 2/14), with oval section.
74.11. Fragment of loop with 8 coils made of silver (length 2.1 cm, MCC - A 5262 - fig. 3/3). The object has traces of a strong secondary combustion.
74.12. Silver pendant (length 4.1 cm, MCC - A 5267 - fig. 3/4), achieved by combining casting techniques and rapping. Has the shape of a nail, and to the end has a circular ear, due to the bending of the wire, that continues with two turns on the body of the pendant.
74.13. Silver pendant (length 4.2 cm, MCC - A 5269 - fig. 3/5), achieved by combining casting techniques and rapping. Has the shape of a nail, and to end lug has a circular ear, due to the bending of the wire, that continues with 2 turns on the body. Both pendants bear traces of secondary burning.
74.14. Silver fibula (length 3.8 cm, 3.5 cm arc length, MCC - A 5280 - fig. 3/6), with shaped body with large bilateral spring consisting of 26 turns (13 +13) and a chord wrapped outside by the arc; the arc is triangular, flattened towards the spring. The port-pin is trapezoidal, curved in the shape of a sheath. The pin (2 mm diameter wire) is complete.
74.15. Bronze fibula (length 6.9 cm, 1 cm arc length, MCC - A 5266 - fig. 3/7), bilateral spring, consisting of 4 turns (2 +2) and inner chord, the arc is simple, of oval form. The port-pin is triangular. At the moment of the discovery, the pin (wire diameter from 2 to 2.5 mm) was cut out of the bottom half from ancient times, and was later restored in the restoration laboratory. The arch is decorated with 2 rows of impressions.
74.16. Iron ring (2.7 cm diameter, 0.8 cm diameter hole, MCC - A 5261 - Fig. 2/10), massive, rectangular in section.

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74.17. Bronze cruciform ornament (1.5 x 1.5 cm, MCC - A 5282 - fig. 3/2). Mounting bolts were broken and loose from ancient times.
74.18. Bronze ornament (1.05 cm long, 0.9 cm wide, MCC - A 5258 - fig. 3/1), rectangular, made of a thin plate, decorated in *au repoussé* technique, with ornaments consisting of a series of prominences arranged on two sides of the item. The artifact is heavily damaged, some parts being torn from ancient times. In the central area has a circular perforation. The conservation status is precarious.
74.19. Fragment of iron buckle (preserved length 6 cm, preserved width 4.9 cm, MCC - A 5256 - fig. 3/8), with decorative bronze plate, decorated in *au repoussé* technique with parallel veins (their number cannot be established, due to the fragmentary condition of the piece) and double semicircles. The iron rivets connect all component parts of the artifact sheets. Strongly affected by heat.
74.20. Fragment of iron buckle (preserved length 18.4 cm, maximum width 5.4 cm, MCC - A. 5257 cm - Fig. 3/9 with decorative bronze plate, decorated in *au repoussé* technique with parallel ribs, arranged transversal to the axis of the plate comprising ribbed bands and double semicircles arranged in arch. The hinge and hook are broken from ancient times. Strongly affected by heat.
C.75. The general stratigraphy observations made along with the research of complex 74 are valid also for the sector occupied by S. XIV. The second cremation tomb, discovered in 2009, numbered C.75, was investigated in S. XIV, square 3, depth 0.27 m (on the upper side of ceramic containers), the other depths ranging from 0.29 - 0.34 m The area of cinerary and inventory debris deposits, was at first flattened. The inventory identified from the depth 0.29 to 0.34 m is grouped around the vessel with lid and closing the bone remaining was composed of the following items: bronze bead, iron-piercing piece, awl (?) Piece of iron, cylindrical arc fibula (excerpt)?, fragmentary iron objects, apply bronze, bronze fibula, bronze objects, fragments of face protection metal objects and well incinerated bone remains, that spread to the southern profile of S. XIV. At the depth of 0.30 m, on the level of the stone structure was surprised a circular lens (40 cm diameter), consisting of slag powder (?), mixed with cremated bones (at this time we do not have the results of physico-chemical investigations for these artifacts). The inventory is complemented by an offering vessel, represented by a pear-shaped recipient, molded by hand, with two rows of buttons, both above and below its maximum diameter, covered with a lid or a bowl, deposited upside down. The bottom of the pear shaped vessel is located at 0.47 m, the lid at 0.27 m. In the immediate vicinity of the vessel with lid, both calcined bones and remains of charcoal, poorly preserved were traced. C 75, as in the case of the previously described complex, was covered by a consistent level of medium and large stones, forming a small mound (1.90 m east-west axis).
Dating of the archaeological complex: second century BC.

Description of funeral inventory
75.1. Iron bar (preserved length 4.1 cm, MCC - A 5264 - fig. 4/1), rectangular section.
75.2. Bronze bead (diameter 1.1 cm, interior diameter 3.5 mm, MCC - A 5257 - fig. 4/3).
75.3. Fragment of spring with 11 coils made of silver (length 2.6 cm, MCC - A 5285 - fig. 4/4).
75.4. Fragment of bronze face-protection object (MCC - A. 5260, 5263 - Fig. 4/5). The end piece is thinned out. The piece is thermally deformed.
75.5. Foot fibula fragment, made of bronze (preserved length 5.6 cm, MCC - A 5274 - Fig. 4/7). The foot looks like a flattened sleeve, done by widening its extremity. It has a small knot, undecorated, doubled by 5 relief ornaments, decorated with superficial incisions.
75.6. Bronze fibula of type *Dux* (length 3.9 cm, 1.6 cm length of spring, MCC - A 5273 - Fig. 4/8), with bilateral spring, consisting of 6 turns (3 +3) and external chord. The spring is strongly shaped (domed) and the foot turned back over the arc. The pin (2 mm diameter wire) is fragmentary.
75.7. Bronze shackle (MCC - A 5273 - Fig. 4/6), with semicircular section, found near the fibula type *Dux*.
75.8. Iron pin, fragmentary, with oval section (Fig. 4/2).
75.9. Bronze ornament (MCC - A 5278 - fig. 4/9), approximately square shape (1.2 x 1.15 cm). Made of thin plate, decorated in *au repoussé* technique, ornaments consisting of a series of prominences disposed on the object, forming a frame surrounding a cruciform decorative motif. One edges is torn of ancient times. The middle part of the piece has a circular perforation. Conservation status is good.

Funeral inventory analysis
Previously, the problem of warriors tombs from Hunedoara *Grădina Castelului (Plateau)* (reflected by the archaeological complexes 12, 70, 71) was referred to *in extenso* (archaeological context, comparative analysis of the findings, anthropological perspective, paleo-zoological analysis) with the purpose to understand the complex phenomenon of funeral aspect that

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involved the Dacian community here (Sirbu et al., 2007a; Rustoiu, 2002, 25-40 (summary of the findings of Padea-Panaghiurski Kolonii type from the Mureş Valey)). Structurally, the inventory found in the three graves, in addition to previous findings, is composed of offensive weapons (curved knife), defensive (fragments of the face-protection part of a helmet) clothing accessories (fibulaes, buckles, bracelets), ornaments and others (shackles, pieces whose utility is unknown to us). Some categories of objects (ceramics, pieces of harness) are not part of the objects previously discovered.

The curved knife in combination with the sheath, finds many similarities both south of the Danube, but also in Oltenia and Transylvania, listing the archaeological sites with findings being in this case tedious and boring. The importance of the new discoveries in Hunedoara *Grădina Castelului (Plateau)* is that these artifacts have been found in an archaeological context and at the same time, can be correlated with other categories of objects, some with close chronology. The closest analogies for the object from Hunedoara are found at Hunedoara (Sirbu et al., 2007a, fig. 8, 11), Blandiana (Ciugudean 1980, 425-426, fig. 2/1-2), Călan (Rustoiu et al. 2001-2002, 123, fig. 6/2) and Cugir (Crisan 1993, fig. 11), exclusively in funerary contexts.

Of the buckles, just the one in complex 74 may be attributed to type I, after the classification proposed by Mircea Babes (Babes 1983). The other fragments of buckles of complexes 74 and 75 are of relatively little importance to the type and number of associations, lacking the locking system on which were placed typologically (Babes 1983, 199-200, 211). The presence of the fragmented buckle in C. 73 provides the entire complex dating, to the first half of the first century BC (Babes 1983, 214).

For new discoveries in the cemetery at *Grădina Castelului (Plateau),* the association of buckles with other metal parts with better specified chronological evolution (fibula, bronze ornaments) offers a real and detailed timeline for the period these artifacts were used. If for the chronological evolution of buckles found on Romanian territory, we can propose the interval between the second half of the century BC- first century AD., in the case of the Hunedoara discovery, the presence of the silver fibula (Fig. 3/6), bronze fibula (Fig. 3/7) and the cruciform ornament (fig. 3/2) restricts this piece's dating to the period between the second half of the first century BC and the first half of the century AD.

In the case of complexes C74, C75, the presence of fibulae provides conclusive chronological markers. For complex 74, the silver fibula (Fig. 3/6), belongs to the type 10b Rustoiu (Rustoiu 1997, 42-44) ranging from the end of the first century BC - mid / third quarter of the first century AD. The analogies of these artifacts cover a vast territory, including the most recent discoveries is this type of objects from Ardeu-Cetatuie (Ferencz 2006, pl. IV / 1, 2). The bronze fibula (Fig. 3/7), belongs to type 13 Rustoiu (Rustoiu 1997, 46), ranging in the interval between the second half of the first century BC -early first century AD. The analogies of these objects are relatively few and are found mainly in citadels (Divici, Căpâlna) (Rustoiu 1997, 46).

Another category of objects without previous findings in Hunedoara is the nail pendants. Nailed silver pendants within the same complex (Fig. 3/4, 5), are relatively large spreaded in space, their chronology ranging from the end of the first century BC - first century AD. (Rustoiu 1996, 123-124). After the bronze metallurgy synthesis of the Dacians was published, we republished a few pieces that confirm the chronology proposed by Rustoiu. One of the discussions on the chronology of this artifact, with the occasion of discussing the role and place of the Cerbăl treasure within the frame of other Dacian treasures (Luca 1999, 67-75) reveals the associations of this object (funerary contexts, thesauri) and also its chronology.

The three graves and the archaeological materials that are part of the inventory, allow us to complete the greater picture of the Hunedoara *Grădina Castelului (Plateau)* cemetery, with major implications regarding the study of Dacian elite in southwestern Transylvania.

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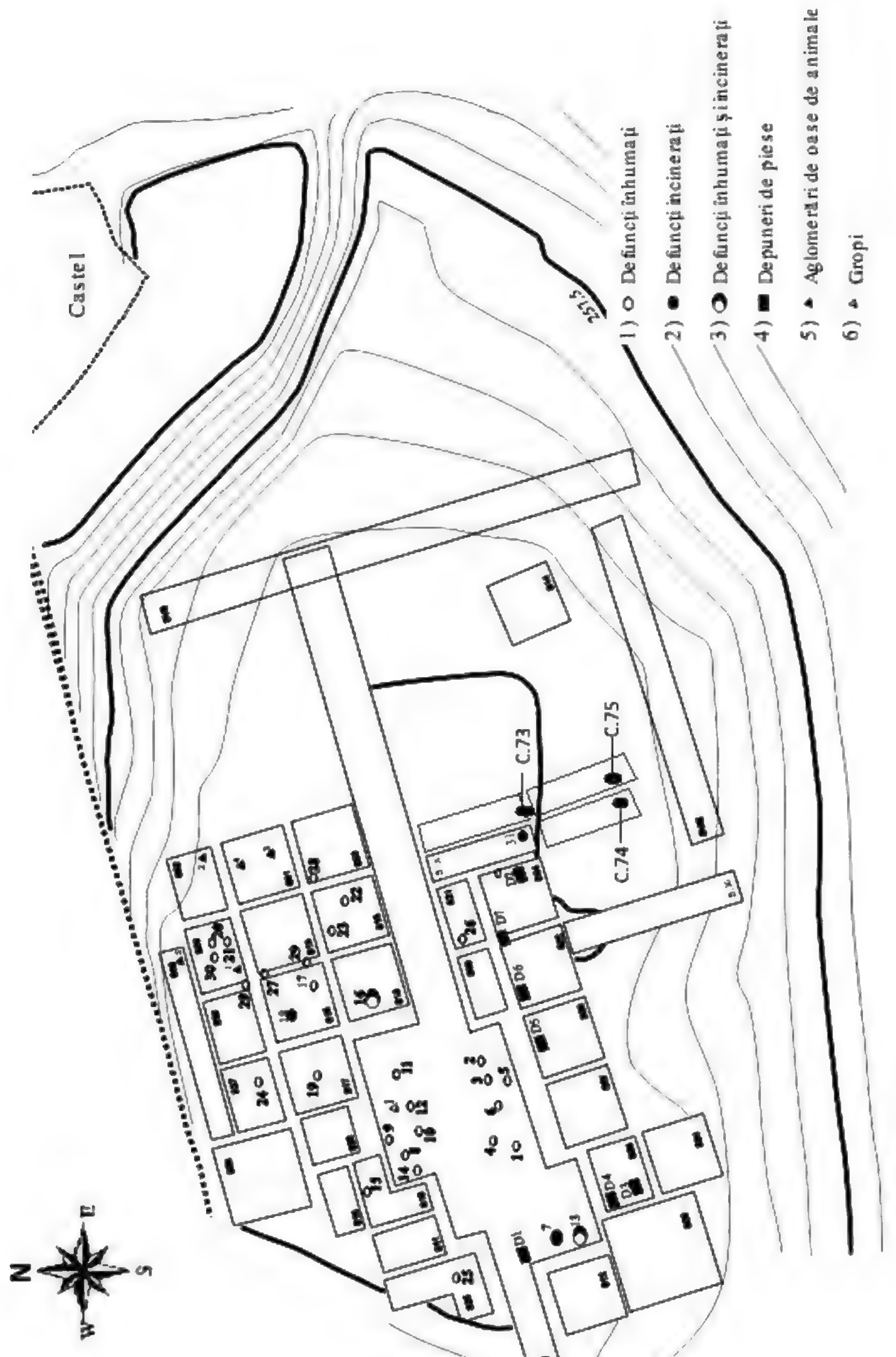

Pl. 1.

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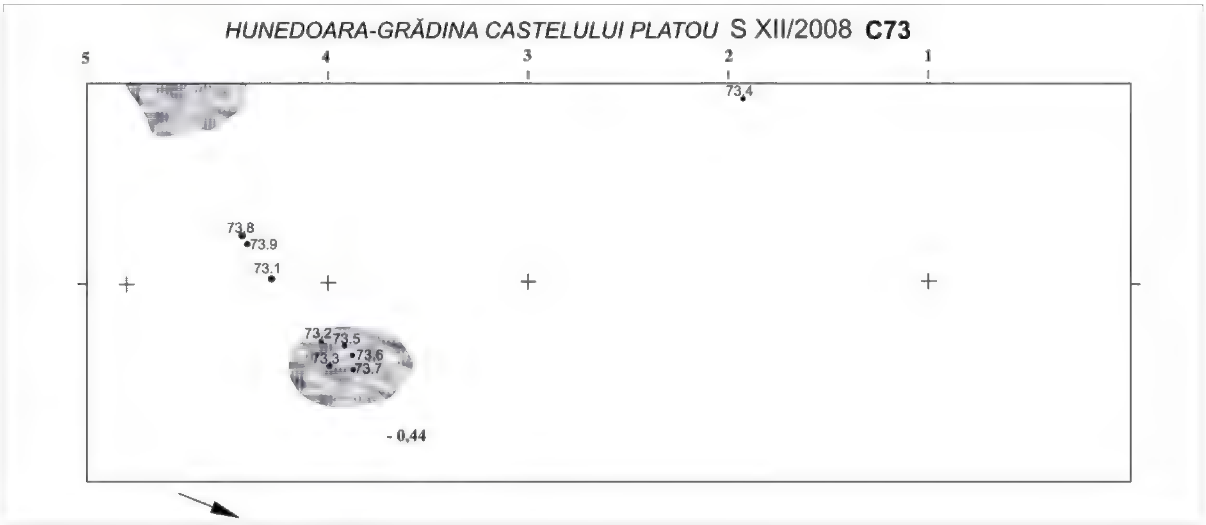

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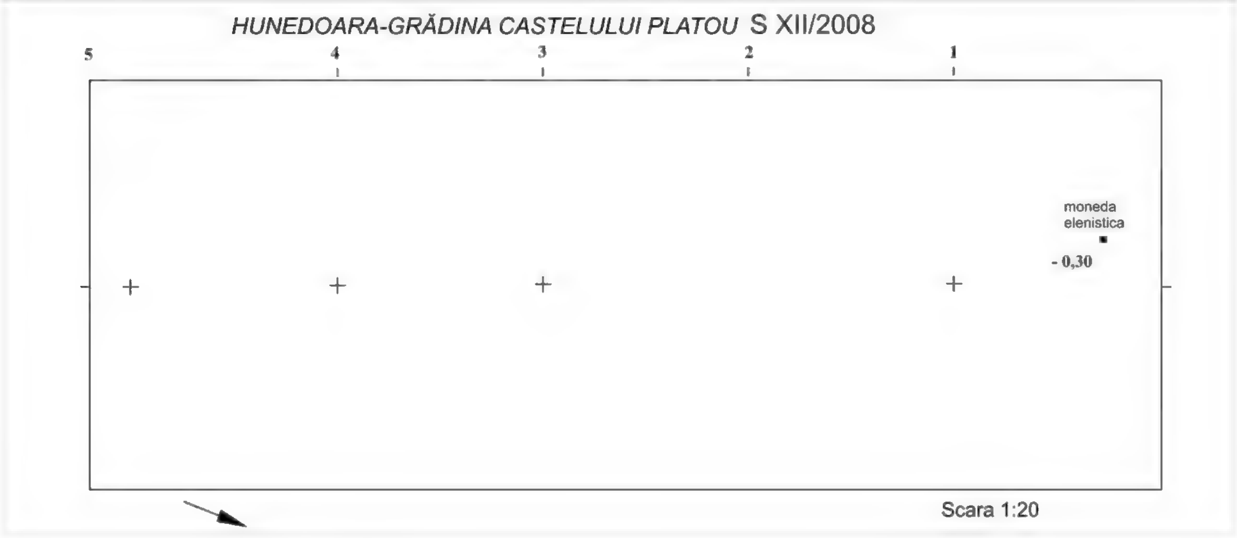

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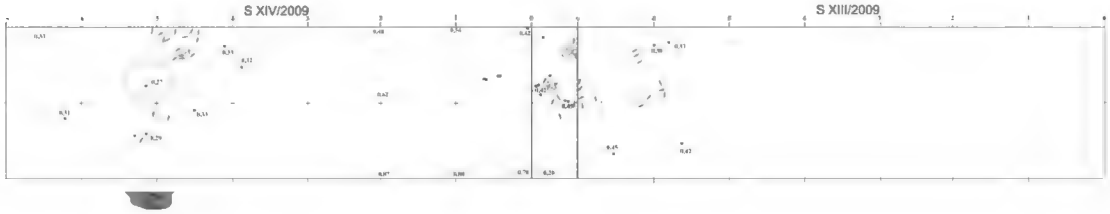

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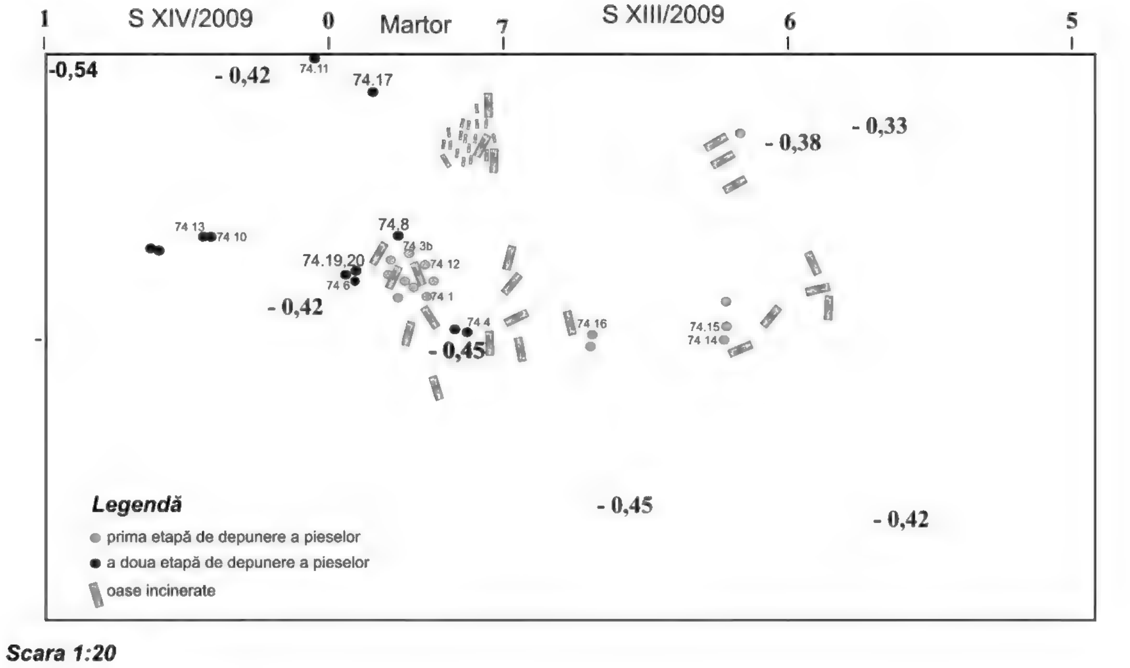

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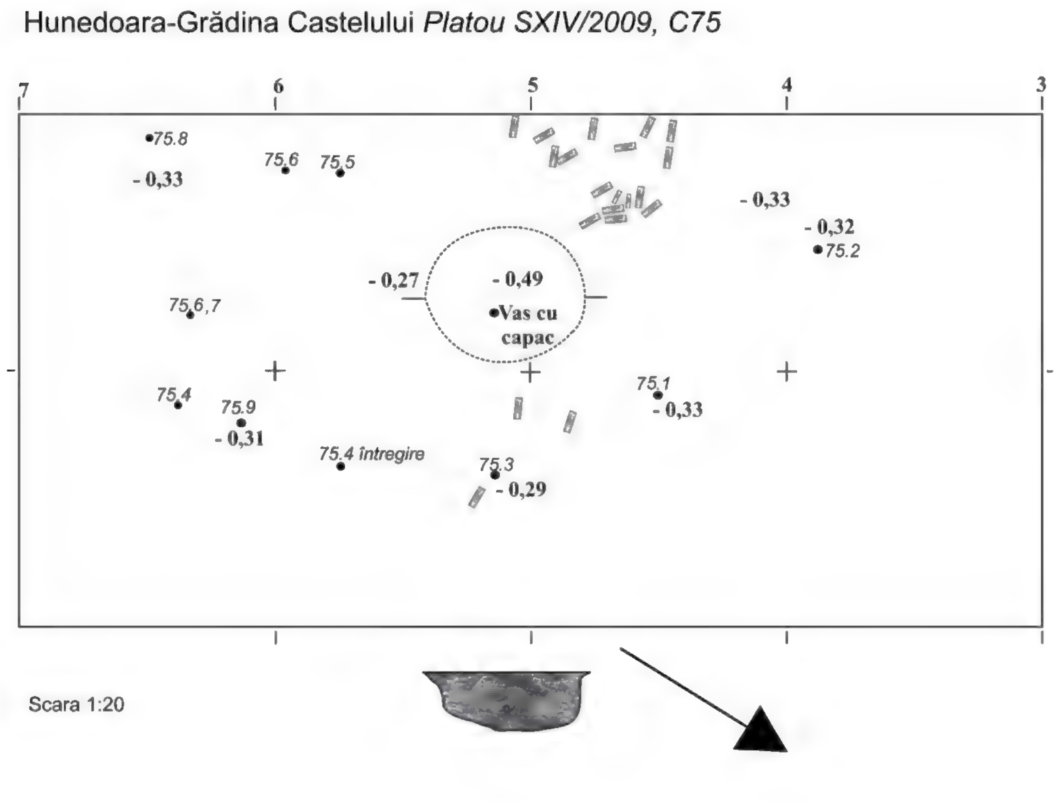

Pl. 6.

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Fig. 1.

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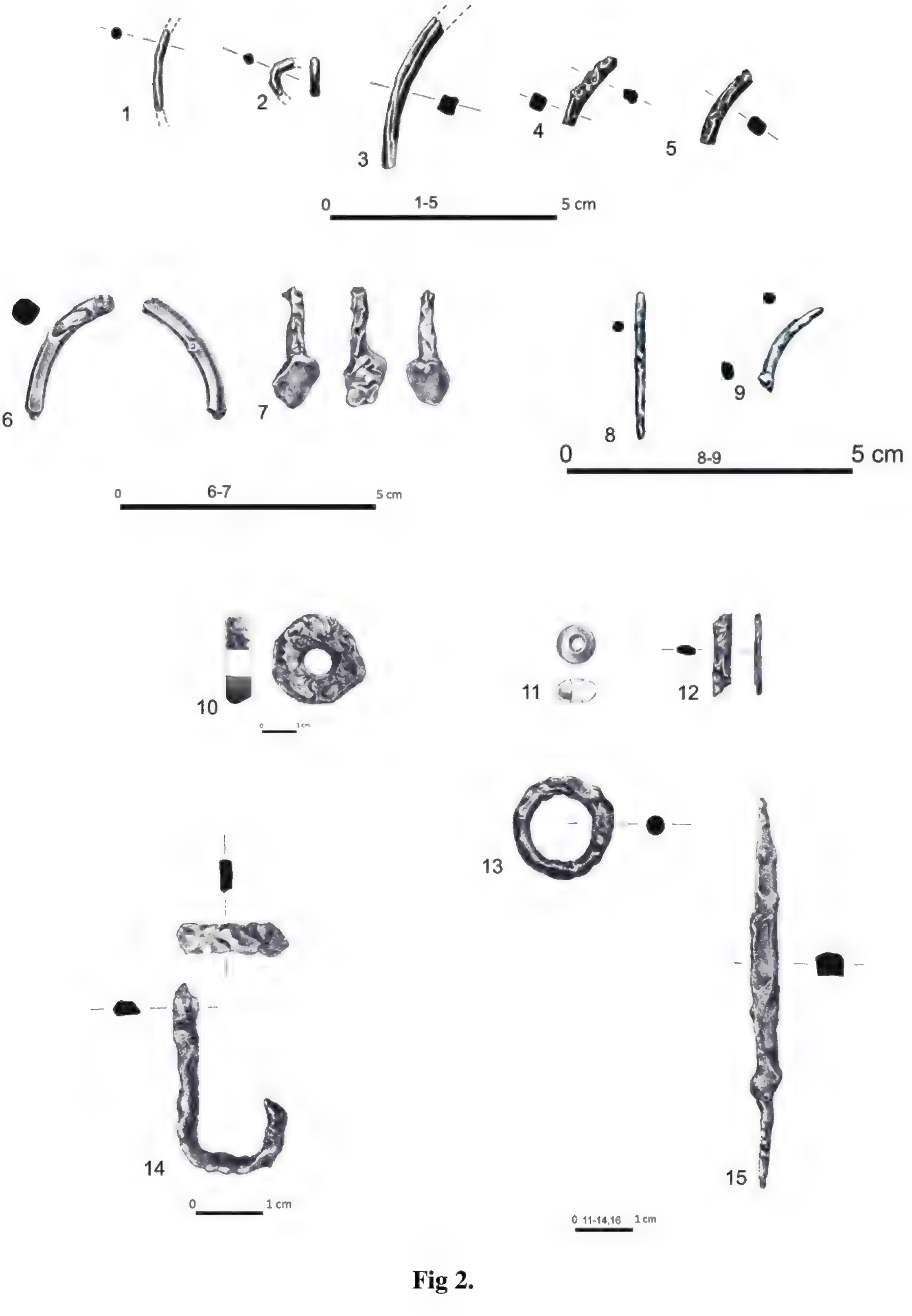

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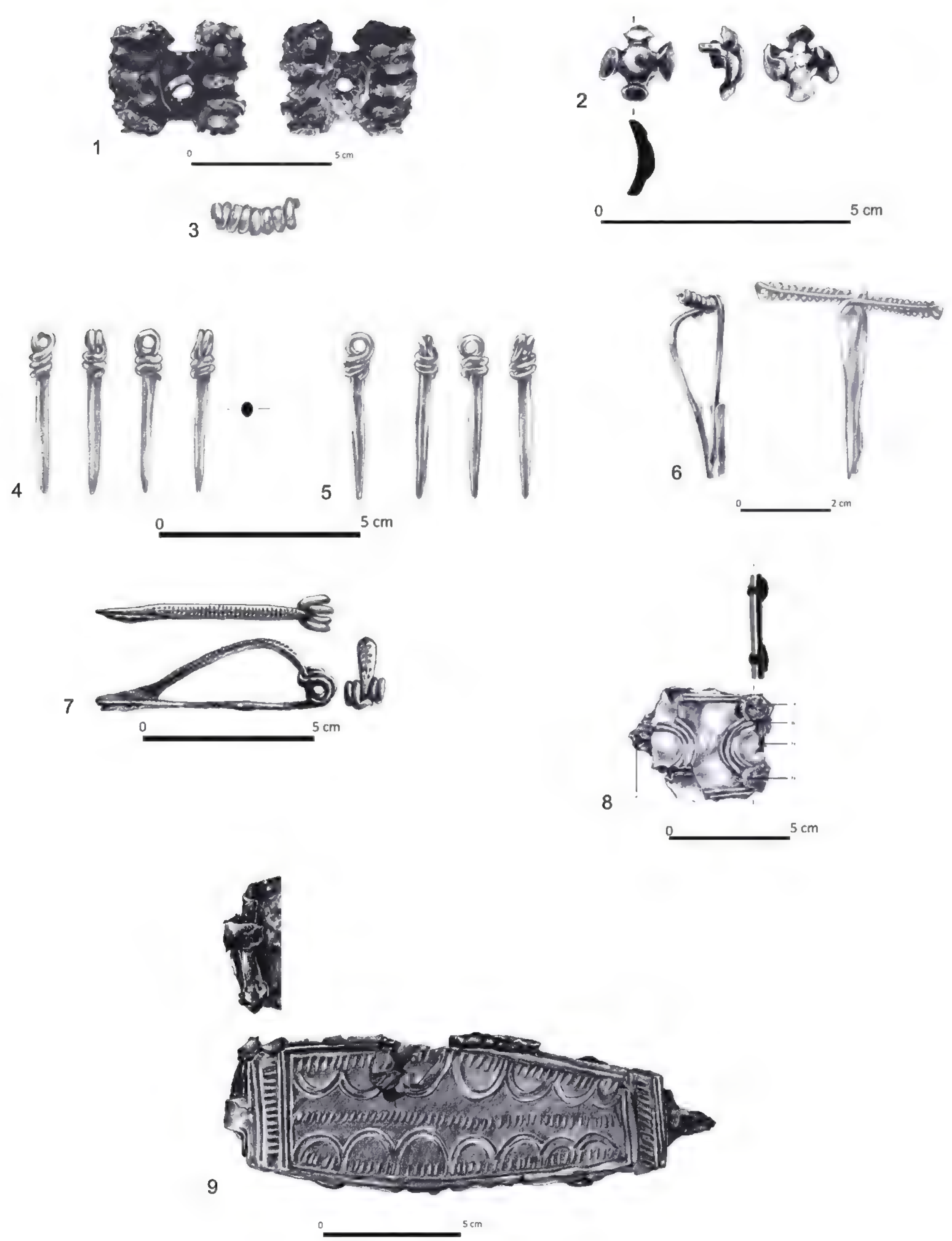

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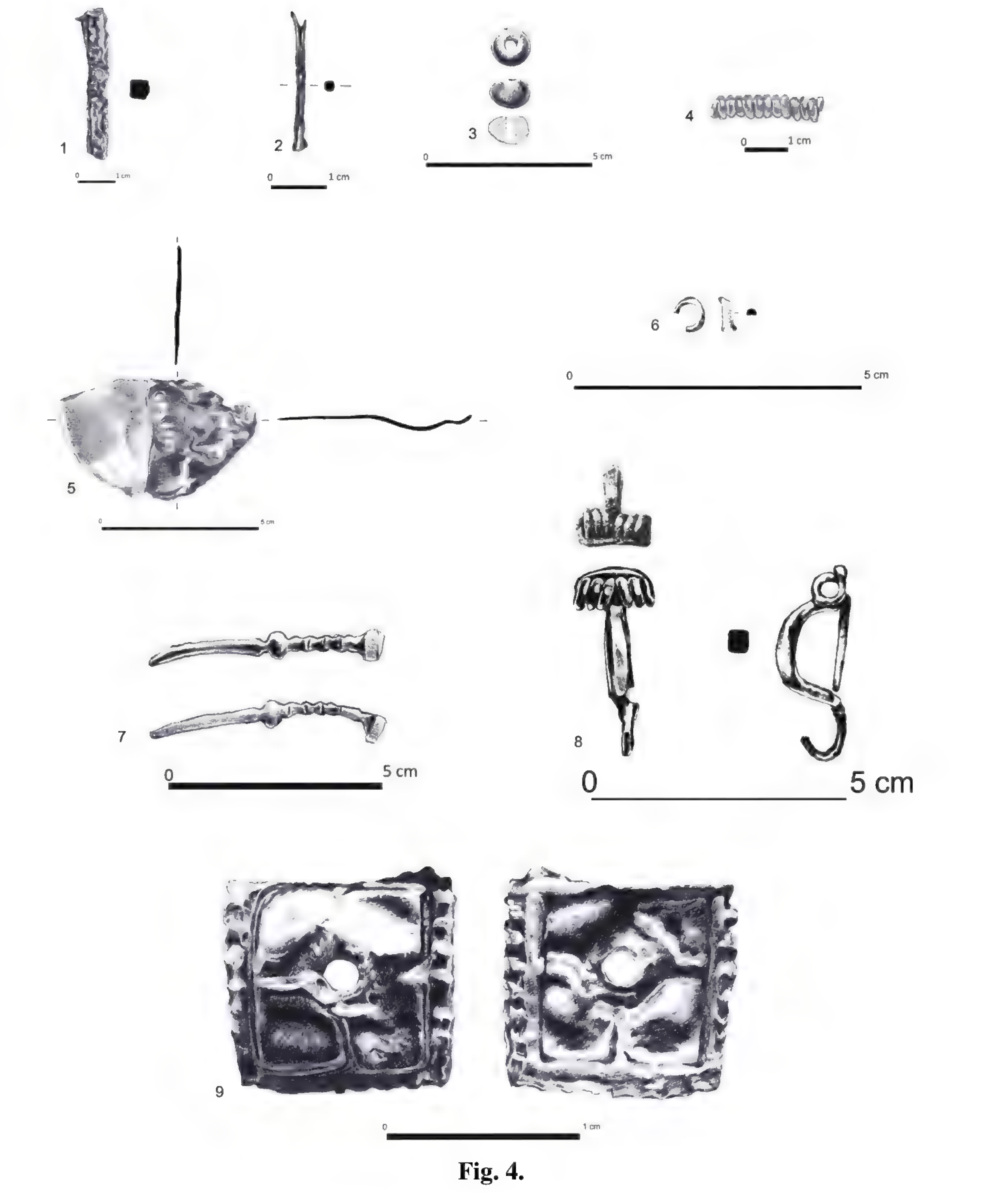

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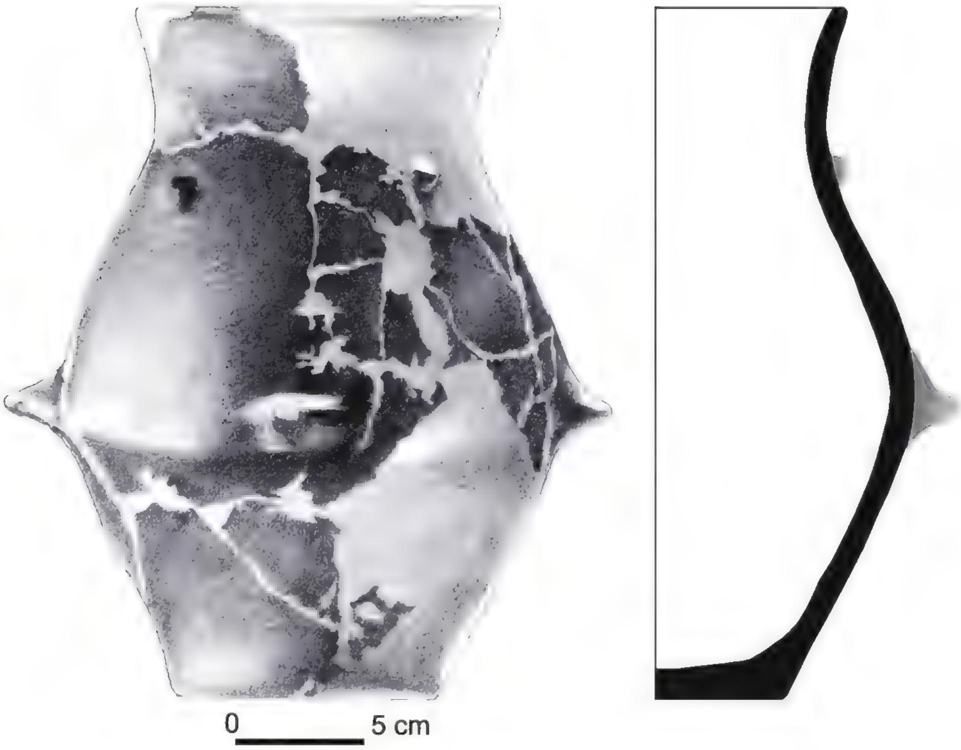

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Fig. 6.

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INFORMATIONS REGARDING SEVERAL COIN HOARDS UNEARTHED IN TRANSYLVANIA

Claudiu MUNTEANU*

Abstract: *In this article several ancient, medieval, modern and contemporary coin hoards are presented. Some of them can be found nowadays in the Brukenthal Museum's numismatic collection, while others are lost and the only information pertaining to the latter existes as archival notes.*
Keywords: *coin, hoard, Transylvania.*

Rezumat: *În acest articol sunt prezentate informaţii referitoare la câteva tezaure monetare antice, medievale, moderne şi contemporane. Unele se află în colecţia numismatică a Muzeului Brukenthal în timp ce altele sunt astăzi pierdute şi pentru ele au supravieţuit doar informaţii din note aflate în arhive.*
Cuvinte cheie: *monedă, tezaur, Transilvania.*

Ludwigsdorf (probably Logig, Mureş district)
A note from 1921 (Connert 1921, p. 46) mentions the existence of a hoard consisting in about 40 dacian coins and an unspecified number of „garnishments/jewels" in the Brukenthal Museum's numismatic collection. The coins were about 20 % silver and the items were in a poor conservations state („shattered") (Connert 1921, p. 46). Nowadays, the hoard is not identified in the collection.

Stein (Ştenea, Sibiu district)
In a list dated 1887 the existence of some „*Denare und Drachme*" from Stein (Ştenea) is mentioned in the Brukenthal Museum's numismatic collection. No other informations is available. The items can not be identified in the collection due to the brief description. We suspect they are republican denarii and Appolonia and/or Dyrrachium drachmas, probably a coin hoard.

Ormeniş, Alba district
Găbud, Alba district
Görgeny, judeţ ?
Several sentences from a letter written by baron Samuel von Brukenthal in 1781 mentions:
„*Es ist nicht anders, es sind in Oermenyszék und Gabud (?) zwei kleinen Dörfern des Weissenburger Comitats zwischen den Kokeln und der Marosch viele Münzen gefunden worden; die aus dem ersten Dorfe scheinen gothische Münzen zu seyn, die zu denjenigen gehören, die E. H. Würden so genau beschrieben haben. Ein garstiger Kopf, beinahe ohne Kinn ist auf der einen Seite, theils mit dem Gerippe eines unförmlichen Reiters, theils leer ohne Decke und Sattel auf der andern Seite auf 16 löthiges Silber geprägt machen sie aus. Es ist weder Buchstab noch andere Zeichen an ihnen zu sehen und sind sich völlig gleich. In Gabud (?) sind schöne Münzen von Trajan (?) und macedonische ausgegraben worden, weit mehr als der arme Bauer, der sie auf seinem mit Gebüsch verwachsenen Acker an einem Rain gefunden hereingeliefert haben mag. Sie sind sehr schön, sich völlig gleich und unterscheiden sich bloß durch Monogramme (?). Davon ich 8 zusammengebracht habe, 5 von den trajanischen und 3 von den macedonischen. An dem Rande sind sie meistens vorsätzlich gespalten, die es nicht sind, haben in der Mitte einen Einschnitt, der bis in die Hälfte der eben auch 16 löthigen Münzen eingedrungen ist. In den Köpfern merkt man einige Veränderung, besonders an der Eintheilung der Togen (?) und der Zurechtlegung des Haares; auch wird der gute Hercules besser und schlechter, richtiger und unrichtiger abgebildet; auf einigen ist er unverbesserlich, er steht wie auf den schönsten Antiken da, auf andern scheint die Präge sich verrückt zu haben. Auf einer diesen Münzen sind alle Buchstaben umgekehrt, ob Hercules gleich die gewöhnliche Stellung hat, woraus man auf die Vermuthung kommen könnte, daß die Figuren allein und die Schriften wieder allein eingeprägt worden seyn müßten. Auf römischen Münzen habe ich verkehrte Schriften gesehn, aber auch das übrige der Präge war verkehrt. Diese Münzen sind etwa 18 Zoll tief in der Erde in einem Quadrat neben und übereinander aufgestellt, und so wie die Dukaten- Rollen zu machen pflegen, gelegt gewesen, mit Erde bedeckt und so zusammengewachsen angetroffen worden, daß sie der Bauer mit Mühe auseinander bringen konnte*

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(Schaser 1848, p. 121sq).
Außer diesen Münzen ist man heuer auch in andern Oertern auf einige gekommen, ich habe Flav. Vespas. Tit. und Nerone goldene eingewechselt und 28 dyrrhachios erhalten, die alle von einander unterschieden sind, freilich in nichts wesentlich aber doch entweder in Monogramme oder an den Zeichen und Figuren. So habe ich auch einen kupfernen griechischen Geta I^{mi} modi überkommen, auf welchem Sebastos mit mit griech. Buchstaben steht. Alle diese und wie man glaubt viele tausend andere sind theils an der Maros theils bei Görgeny gefunden und von den Bauern unter der Hand verschleppt worden" (Schaser 1848, p. 121sq).

Several coin hoards are mentioned in this passages. The first was unearthed at Ormeniş, Alba district. Due to the mention of their „gothic origin" and the representations on the two sides we can conclude these were dacian coins. The second coin hoard was unearthed at Găbud, Alba district and was formed, as described (the underlined part of the text), of Thasian coins. The third hoard was formed of several thousand coins, probably only Dyrrachium issues. The location where they were found, Görgeny, can not be identified because several villages bearing this name existed in Transylvania, and are situated in different districts[1].

Frauendorf (Axente Sever, Sibiu district)

Two blue-coloured paper labels which used to accompany each a coin in the cabinet are present in the Brukenthal Museum's numismatic collection (fig. 1-4). The 2 coins lost their labels and today can not be identified in the collection. On a side of the first label we can read: *Frauendorf*[2] and on a side of the second label - *Frauendorf F(unde) 1876*, meaning the discovery made in 1876. On the other side, both labels present the description of 2 roman imperial denarii, as well as the metal of the coins and a different number (*nro. 1, arg. 1* şi *nro. 15 , arg. 1*).

Another note appears on the bottom of a small paper box (fig. 5), used for one coin: *vorig. Frauendorf 1880 • 79. Vorig.* (Vorige) means „the same as the last coin", therefore it could refer to a coin belonging to a hoard. Number 79/1880 represents an unknown official report.

Two coin hoards unearthed at Frauendorf (Axente Sever) in the 19th century are mentioned in the numismatic literature (Preda 2008, p. 49sq.). The first was unearthed in 1824 and was composed of approximately 200 roman republican denarii (Moisil, Depeyrot 2003, p. 205, no. 213; Preda 1998, p. 295). A second hoard was unearthed in 1875 and was composed of 563 roman republican denarii (211-208 - 56 a.Chr.) (Moisil, Depeyrot 2003, p. 64, no. 68; Preda 2008, p. 50). This hoard was retrieved in two sepparate occasions and was kept (or iti is still kept ?) in the Mediaş Gymnasium's collection and in the Sighişoara Museum's collection (Moisil, Depeyrot 2003, p. 64; Preda 2008, p. 50). Constantin Preda thought the two hoards originally formed only one (Preda 2008, p. 50). If the last hoard was never in the Brukenthal Museum's collection and we can't imagine the 1824 hoard being registered right after 1875, it is clear that these brief descriptions indicate the existence of a imperial coin hoard unearthed in 1876.

The description of 2 silver imperial denarii, the items bearing numbers (respectively 1 and 15), a mention of the village and the year of the find, also an number of a official report (79/1880), probably together with two another official reports – 53/1878 (fig. 6) and 47, 49-51/1881 (fig. 7), would confirm the hypothesis that the coins of the hoard were roman imperial and they are nowadays lost in the Brukenthal Museum's numismatic collection.

The two mentioned reports reports are also handwritten. The first, dated 6.04.1878 mentions *Münzenkauf aus dem Frauendorfer fund* and the latter, from 1881 mentions:
Denar, Frauendorf – Kauf v(on) Funde
Idem, geschenk
Idem, idem
Idem, gesch(enk) v(on) Bedeus.

We must point out that within the old numbering system, number 15 is not the 15th coin of the hoard, but the 15th coin from the issuer. In this case, this is the 15the coin issued by Traianus and no. 1 was the first coin issued by Titus. This situation confirms, once again, the existence of a imperial coin hoard.

We can conclude that parts of this hoard entered the collection during several years (1876, 1878, 1880, 1881, perhaps other years), as a consequence of the retrieval from several owners. Therefore we must assume this hoard had the same fate as others, being divided right after the discovery among individuals who unearthed it.

[1] Gorgeny Szent Imre, Gorgenyadorjan, Gorgenyhodak, Gorgenyibanfalva, Gorgenykakucs, Gorgenynadas, Gorgenyoroszfalu, Gorgenyorsova, Gorgenysoakna, Gorgenyszentimre, Gorgeny-Szent-Imre, Gorgenyuvegcsur.
[2] Frauendorf is the old name of the village today called Axente Sever.

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The 2 coins in question here are:

Titus
1. AR, denarius.
The description corresponds partially to the catalogue number RIC II 185. Rome, year 75.

Traianus
1 (15). AR, denarius.
RIC II 52. Rome, years 101-102.

Ruşi, Sibiu district
In the Brukenthal Museum's numismatic collection there are 6 roman denarii unearthed in the village's surroundings before 1951 (their envelopes had an identical note – probably written at the time of retrieval and/or the moment when the items entered in the collection). Their number and the denomination make us believe the coins would belong to the well-known imperial coin hoard unearthed in 1946 or 1947, formed by an unknown number of coins kept in a clay vessel. However, only 138 coins have been retrieved[3]: 52 denarii and 86 antoninianii - Septimius Severus (13 denarii), Geta (1 denarius), Caracalla (5 denarii), Heliogabalus (11 denarii), Iulia Maesa (2 denarii), Severus Alexander (10 denarii), Orbiana (1 denarius), Iulia Mamaea (7 denarii), Maximinus Thrax (1 denarius), Balbinus (1 denarius), Gordianus III (62 antoninianii), Filip Arabul (15 antoninianii), Marcia Otacilia Severa (4 antoninianii) şi Filip Junior (5 antoninianii) (Suciu 2000, p. 51, nr. 101).
The 6 coins in question here are:

Vespasianus
1. AR, denarius, 16 x 18 mm, 3,12 g.
RIC II 266. Tarraco, years 69-70.
T 1285/17112 (fig. 8).

Antoninus Pius
2. AR, denarius, 19 mm, 3,49 g.
RIC III 127. Roma, years 145-161.
T 1285/17111 (fig. 9).

Septimius Severus
3. AR, denarius, 15 x 16 mm, 3,62 g.
RIC IV/1 76. Roma, years 196-197.
Nr. inv. T 1285/17110 (fig. 10).

Heliogabalus
4. AE, false denarius, hybrid, 17 x 19 mm, 2,29 g.
Av: ANTONINVS PIVS FEL. AVG.
Rv: … VELIX …
Person standing up and vessel.
Nr. inv. T 1285/17109 (fig. 11).

Severus Alexander
5. AR, denarius, 18 x 19 mm, 2,35 g.
RIC IV/2 202. Roma, years 228-231.
Nr. inv. T 1285/17108 (fig. 12).

Maximinus Thrax
6. AR, denarius, 19 x 20 mm, 3,16 g.
RIC IV/2 14. Roma, years 235-236.
T 1285/17107 (fig. 13).

A first conclusion is that 4 coins were issued by emperors already present in the structure of the original hoard while another 2 coins change the chronological frame of the hoard. Therefore, the hoard (composed now of at least 144 coins) ends with coins issued by Philippus Arabs but begins with a coin issued by Vespasian, a rare situation within the hoards unearthed in the Roman province of Dacia – there are only 3 roman imperial coin hoards found in villages situated in the exterior of the Carpathian arc - Belcinu, Bârca III şi Ocolna (Suciu 2000, p. 97.). The 6 denarii don't change too much the previous conclusions regarding the composition of the hoard: a maximum point of ammasing during the reign of Gordianus III (Suciu 2000, p. 97), a relative smaller number of coins issued by Philippus Arabs (Suciu 2000, p. 97) and a much smaller number of coins issued by Heliogabalus and Caracalla (Suciu 2000, p. 97). However, one point of interest is the presence of a false denarius in this hoard.

Armeni, Sibiu district
In the Brukenthal Museum's numismatic collection there is a coin hoard unearthed in 1958. The hoard is formed of 29 medieval denarii, dated to the 16th century.

Cristian, Sibiu district
A document existing in the Brukenthal Library mentions that a coin hoard was unearthed, before 1885, in this village. The hoard was composed of 69 medieval denarii (1525-1602).

Frumoasa – Piatra Albă, Alba district
A document in the Brukenthal Library mentions a coin hoard with an unknown number of items, unearthed in the 19th century (fig. 14).

[3] Kept in the National Museum of Antiquities' collection.

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„Frumoasze / Piatra Alba
Frumoasze gegen Stefleste zu werde ein kleiner Kessel mit Münzen gefunden. Dieselben zeigen auf A. das Brustbild eines Fürsten ("K. Stefan!"), auf R. das polnisch u. ungarische Wappen. Herr Pavek, der einstige Besitzer 1 Stückes davon, hat dieselbe an Joh. Ruprecht in Hermannstadt verkauft
………………………………………………………………
l. v. Wege zur Fr., auf dem "Zigeunerberg" findet er Reste v. Mauern, etwa 1 alter (...), d. "gedeckt", indem er nach Schaetzen grab.

Pavek, Zollbeamter a. D. Reußmarkt"

The brief description of the coin type of the hoard (kept in a small bucket, today lost), does not provide too much information to identify them. Nevertheless, the fact that all the items had the same character on the obverse and the same coat of arms would suggest the coin were of the same type. Therefore, *„king Stephen*" can only be Stephan Bocskay. The hoard was composed of probably small value coins from the beginning of the 17th century. The hypothesis is sustained by the description of the reverse of those coins: „Polish and Hungarian coat of arms", a clue for a later period. On the reverse of the 3 grossus appear the coat of arms of Hungary, in the middle Bocskai coat of arms and the Transylvanian coat of arms with an eagle. Probably due to poor preservation, the Transylvanian coat of arms was confused with the Polish coat of arms on these coins, dated from 1605 – 1609.

Ighişu Vechi, Sibiu district
A document in the Brukenthal Museum's numismatic collection archive mentions a coin hoard of 301 items. This was unearthed in the village, approximately 1 meter deep. The document also mentions a date - 31.X.1971, which could be the date of discovery or the date of the donation. The text mentions that the items were inventoried (?) in the following fashion: 99 items have the inventory number 4988, and 202 items have the inventory number 4980. These inventory numbers do not correspund to those belonging to the museum's numismatic collection so they indicate another museum's collection or a private collection.

Petersdorf (unknown district[4])
A document in the Brukenthal Library mentions a coin hoard unearthed, probably in 1887, composed of 167 medieval grossus, denarii and pfennings, issued by kings from the beginning of the 16th century – 1619. The kings and princes who issued these coins are Sigismund I (Elbing), Albert (Prusia, Poland), Sigismund III (Poland), Wladislaw II, Ferdinand, Maximilian II, Rudolf II, Matthia II, (Hungary) and Gabriel Bathory (Transylvania).

Şelimbăr, Sibiu district
A document in the Brukenthal Library mentions the discovery, probably in the 19th century, of a small coin hoard composed of 3 thalers:
„Ein Thalerfund bei Schellenberg.
Im Frühjahre des laufenden Jahres fand ein Arbeiter in dem Garten des Schellenberger Lehrers Frank in einem behufs Einsetzung eines Bäumchens gegrabenen Loche 3 durch Oxidierung zum Teil stark beschädigte Thaler, welche für das Brukenthal'sche Museum erwarten wurden."

Although it is stated that the items were aquired for the Brukenthal Museum's collection, the coins can't be found. The brief description of the coins allows the following identification: a thaler issued by Ferdinand, archduke of Austria, another by the prince of Transylvania, Stephan Bocskay in 1606 and the third was issued by the city of Lucern. That thaler was a variant of a coin from 1622 (WCrowns 4624). The description shows that the hoard dates from the half of the 16th century to 1622.

Vurpăr, Sibiu district
In the Brukenthal Museum's numismatic collection there is a medieval coin hoard unearthed in 1944 in this village. This is formed by 105 Hungarian denarii, issued between 1517-1544 (Ludovic II to Ferdinand I).

Sibiu II, Sibiu district[5]
A foundation/restoration coin hoard was layed down in the second half of the 18th century in the house in which today is the Evangelical Parrish House, under one of the windows from the side facing Piaţa Mică, discovered after renovation works in 2009. The small hoard is formed of 5 coins of two types, all issued by Josephus II in 1781 – 1782 (fig. 15-16).

Josephus II
¼ kreutzer, Viena.
1. AE, 17,5 mm, 1,94 g.; year 1781.
WCoins, p. 45, KM # 2051.1.
2. AE, 18 mm, 2,16 g.; year 1781.
WCoins, p. 45, KM # 2051.1.
3. AE, 17,5 mm, 2,09 g.; year 1781.

[4] Villages bearing the ancient name *Petersdorf* exist in Sibiu, Alba, Hunedoara, Mureş, Covasna şi Bistriţa-Năsăud districts.

[5] We consider the Sibiu I coin hoard as the one unearthed in General Magheru street, dated in the 19th century.

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WCoins, p. 45, KM # 2051.1.
4. AE, 17,5 mm, 2,09 g.; year 1782.
WCoins, p. 45, KM # 2051.1.
5. AE, 18 mm, 1,77g.; year 1782.
WCoins, p. 45, KM # 2051.1.

Sibiu III, Sibiu district

A contemporary coin hoard composed of at least 270 silver and iron coins, issued by the Romanian kings Carol II and Mihai I, has been discovered at the end of summer 2007 in the attic of the house situated on 9 Mai street, no. 60. Between the wooden beams, under a brick floor layed on planks, the coins were vertically overlapped and packed in pieces of newspaper. The whole hoard was kept in a rag, a piece of an old shirt. Initially the hoard had aproximately 300 coins but 30 of the big silver coins were probably sold. A piece of a newspaper used for packing was retrieved. It is the *Timpul* newspaper, the 12th of october 1946 issue (fig. 17).

Carol II
1.- 2. 250 lei, 1939.
MBR, p. 270, no. 111.

Mihai I
3 - 90. 100 lei, 1943.
MBR, p. 271, no. 120.
91 – 136. 100 lei, 1944.
MBR, p. 271, no. 121.

137 – 176. 200 lei, 1942.
MBR, p. 271, no. 122.

177 – 200. 250 lei, 1941.
MBR, p. 271, no. 124.

201 – 237. 500 lei, 1944.
MBR, p. 272, no. 126.

238 – 252. 25000 lei, 1946.
MBR, p. 272, no. 131.

253 – 270. 100000 lei, 1946.
MBR, p. 272, no. 132.

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Suciu 2000	Viorica Suciu, *Tezaure monetare din Dacia romană şi postromană*, Cluj-Napoca(2000).

ABBREVIATIONS

AEM	Archaeologisch-Epigraphische Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich-Ungarn, Wien.
AVSL	Archiv des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde, Hermannstadt.
MBR	Monede şi bancnote româneşti, Sibiu.
KVSL	Korrespondenzblatt des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde, Hermannstadt.
HZ	Hermannstädter Zeitung, Hermannstadt.
RepArhSB	Sabin Adrian Luca, Zeno-Karl Pinter, Adrian Georgescu, *Repertoriul arheologic al judeţului Sibiu*, Sibiu, 2003.
RIC II	H. Mattingly, E. A. Sydenham, *The roman imperial coinage. II. Vespasian to Hadrian*, London, 1986.
RIC III	H. Mattingly, E. A. Sydenham, *The roman imperial coinage. III. Antoninus Pius to Commodus*, London, 1930.
RIC IV/1	H. Mattingly, E. A. Sydenham, *The roman imperial coinage. IV. 1. Pertinax to Geta*, London, 1936.
RIC IV/2	H. Mattingly, E. A. Sydenham, C. H. V. Sutherland, *The roman imperial coinage. IV. 2. Macrinus to Pupienus*, London, 1938.
WCoins	Chester L. Krause, Clifford Mishler, *Standard catalog of World Coins. Eighteenth Century 1701 – 1800*, Iola, 2002.
WCrowns	Frank Draskovic, Stuart Rubenfeld, *Standard Price Guide to World Crowns & Thalers 1484 – 1968 as cataloged by dr. John S. Davenport*, 1984.

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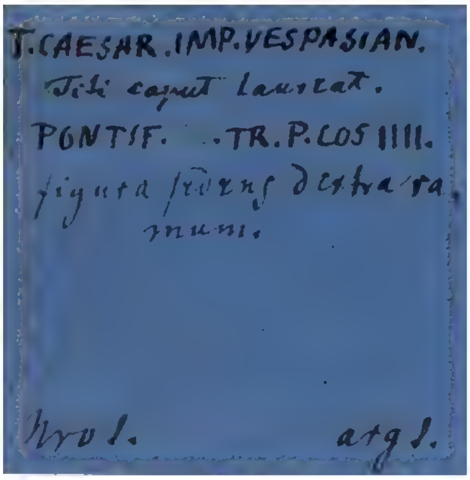

Fig. 1

Fig.2

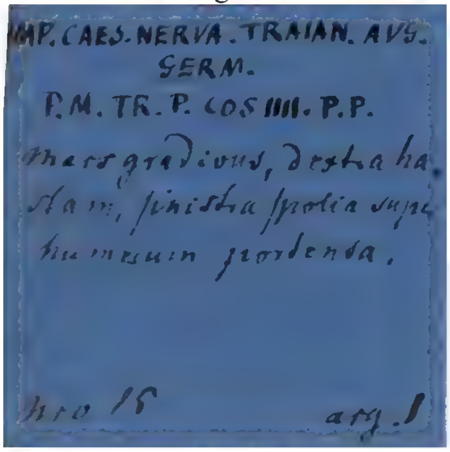

Fig. 3

Fig.4

Fig. 5

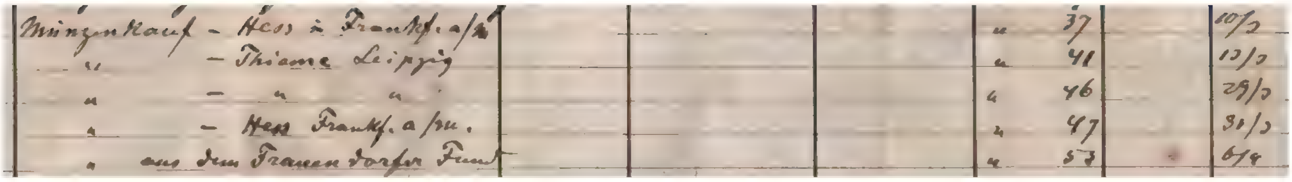

Fig. 6

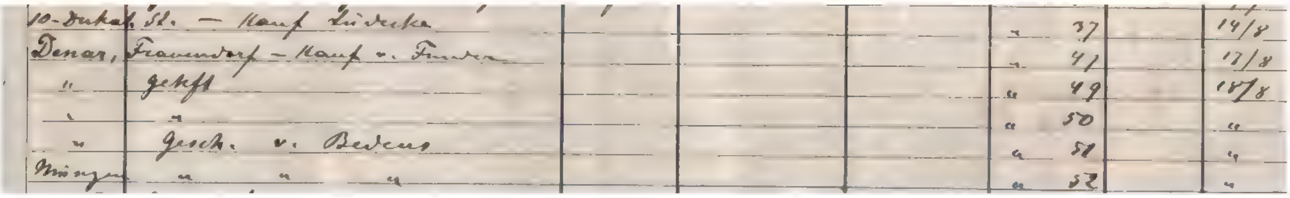

Fig. 7

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Fig. 8 avers - revers

Fig. 9 avers - revers

Fig. 10 avers - revers

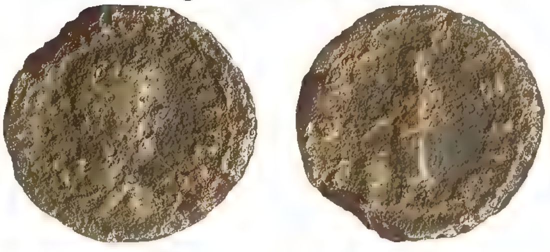
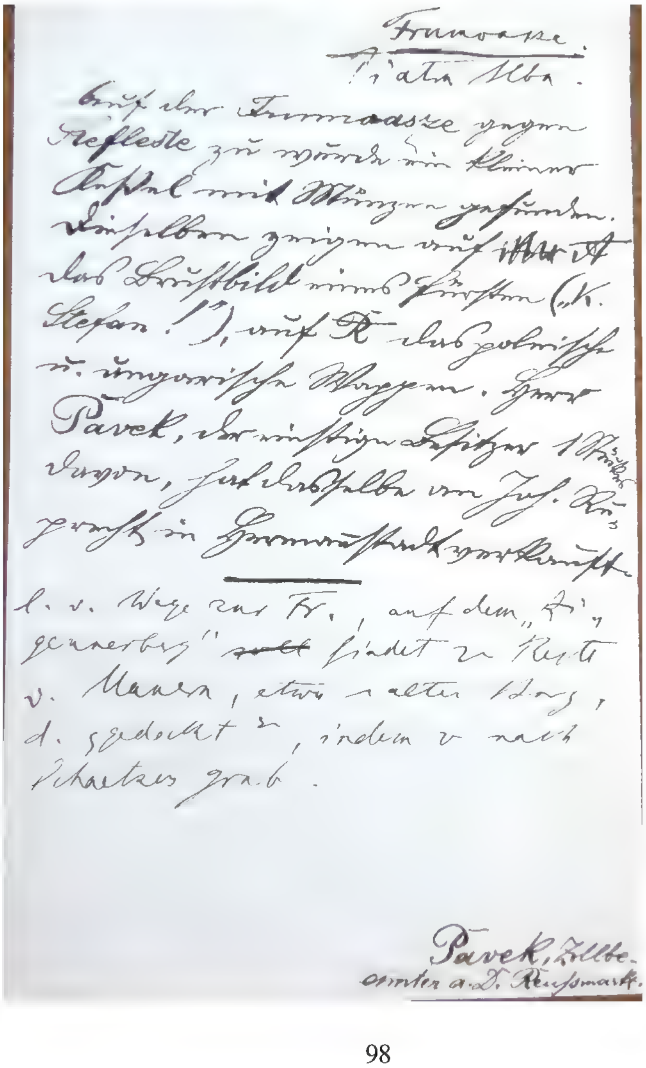


Fig. 11 avers – revers

Fig. 12 avers - revers

Fig. 13 avers - revers



Frumoasa.
Piatra Alba.

Auf der Frumoasze gegen Hefledte zu wurde ein kleiner Topf mit Münzen gefunden. Dieselben zeigen auf A das Brustbild eines Fürsten (K. Stefan!?), auf R das polnische u. ungarische Wappen. Herr Pavek, der einstige Besitzer 1 Stückes davon, hat dasselbe an Jos. Krugmann in Hermannstadt verkauft.

Pavek, Zollbeamter a. D. Reussmarkt.

Fig. 14

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Fig. 15 avers - revers

Fig. 16 avers - revers

Tim

PRO ... MA INDON

IN D ... CONSILIULUI DE

Com... cu Hitler

a princ'pe'ui Paul al Jugoslavi

12 Februarie 1946
UL X — Nr. 3058

Vremea probabilă

SOARELE răsare 7.24. Apune 17.37

LUNA prin pătrar ziua 2-a

Ora 2 ...

). Churchill vine la Wa... gton pentru
se întâlni cu Pre... tele Truman

HORIA SIMA SE AFL... N ITALIA?

D. GIRAL CREDE CĂ FOARTE CURÂND GUVERNUL
SĂU SE VA AFLA LA MADRID

VOR AVEA LOC ALEGERILE DIN IT...IA

Fig. 17 both sides of the paper

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THE ANALYSIS OF THE CREMATION GRAVES OF THE BIRITUAL NECROPOLISES OF TRANSYLVANIA (7TH AND 9TH CENTURIES)

George TOMEGEA*

Abstract: *After analysing the incineration graves from the bi-ritual necropolises in Transylvania, the author reaches the conclusion that these graves can be attributed to a living together of the native population and the Slavs. On the basis of the funeral inventory, one can notice the close connection between the incineration and the inhumation graves inside the same necropolis, as well as the one between the populations that practiced the two funeral rituals.*
Keywords: *Transylvania; funerary rite; funerary ritual; biritual cemeteries; cremation graves; funerary inventor.*

Rezumat: *Analizând mormintele de incinerație din cadrul necropolelor birituale de pe teritoriul Transilvaniei autorul ajunge la concluzia că aceste morminte pot fi atribuite unei coabitări între populația locală și slavi. Pe baza inventarului funerar se remarcă strânsa legătură dintre mormintele de incinerație și cele de inhumație din cadrul acelorași necropole, precum și cea dintre populațiile ce practicau cele două rituri funerare.*
Cuvinte cheie: *Transilvania; rit funerar; ritual funerar; necropole birituale; morminte de incinerație; inventar funerar.*

During the 7th and 9th centuries, in Transylvania there have been used both funeral rites: incineration and inhumation. Their usage at the same time, in the same necropolis, led to the existence of biritual necropolises (Table 1, Figure 1). These have been included, together with the incineration necropolises of the same period, into what Kurt Horedt defined as the Mediaş group (Horedt 1965, 13; Horedt 1986, 60-66). So far, there have been discovered only eight biritual sure necropolises, that are: Berghin/Blutroth/ Berve – În Peri (Aldea *et alii* 1980, 151; Blăjan, Botezatu 2000, 457), Boarta / Michelsdorf / Mihályfalva – Pîrîul Zăpozii-Şoivan (Dumitraşcu, Togan 1974), Bratei / Pretai / Baráthely – Cimitirul nr. 2/ the Cemetery no. 2 - asta cred ca se poate taia (Zaharia 1977), Ghirbom/Birnbaum/Oláhgorbó – Gruiul Fierului (Aldea *et alii* 1980; Anghel 1997), Guşteriţa / Hammersdorf / Szenterzsébet – Fântâna Rece (Nägler 1971), Mediaş / Mediasch / Medgyes – Dealul Furcilor (Horedt 1965), Ocna Sibiului / Salzburg / Vizakna – Lab (Protase 1965; Protase 2005) and Târnava / Großprobstdorf / Nagyekemező – Palamor (Velter 2002, 450; Blăjan, Botezatu 2000, 456-457). In all those, the incineration rite prevails (Figure 2).

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The biritualism of those necropolises is demonstrated through the fact that the inhumation graves are interpolated among incineration graves. The contemporaneity of usage of the two funeral rites is given by the fact that in the case of graves with inventory, those objects are similar.

In this study we want to make an analysis of the rite and ritual of incineration used in those necropolises, with reference to just six out of the eight necropolises, because those from Berghin and Târnava have not been published yet.

In our analysis, we shall pursue from shape, depth and arranging of the graves, continuing with their orientation, way of laying down of the cinerary remains and their sex where there has been made antropologic analysis, as well as the given inventory. Nevertheless, before starting our analysis, we consider that we have to specify the fact that a lot of those types of graves have been disturbed by different works done on these places.

After dying, the deceased would be burned on a funeral pile, that in all the cases was situated outside the necropolises perimeter – ustrinum. Unfortunately, in none of these studied necropolises there has been identified the place of incineration of the deceased. The maximum limits where there have been discovered incineration graves are between -0,20 and -1,20 m. In the necropolis from Boarta, the urns have been found

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at depths between -0,20 and -1,20 m; most of them have been found between -0,30 and -0,45 m; we have to mention that the urn from grave 7A has been discovered at -0,75 m, but the pit was deep up to -1,20 m and there have been found in it: ashes, embers, ceramic fragments and a big stone (Dumitraşcu, Togan 1974). In the necropolis from Bratei, the incineration graves have been discovered at depths between -0,15 and -0,64 m, with the mentioning that most of them have been found between -0,20 and -0,40 m (Zaharia 1977). In the necropolis from Ocna Sibiului the urns have been found at depths between -0,10 and -0,54 m; most of them have been found between -0,20 şi -0,30 m (Protase 2005, 42). In the necropolis from Guşteriţa the urns have been found at depths between -0,25 and -0,80 m (Nägler 1971, 63). The depth that the incineration graves from Ghirbom have been found were between -0,40 and -0,88 m (Anghel 1997). In the necropolis from Mediaş the urns have been found between -0,40 and -1,10 m (Horedt 1965). The pretty small depth that the burials were made at, is the reason why many of those graves have been discovered already destroyed. This is the reason why, we believe that, in the case of all those necropolises, the number of graves must have been much bigger.

The shape of the pits could not have been observed is very many cases, either because of the very small depth that the graves have been found at, or because of the soil that did not allow this thing. As an example, in the necropolis from Boarta, there could be observed no pit in the yellow clay (Dumitraşcu, Togan 1974, 102). The shape of the pits of the necropolis from Ocna Sibiului could not be specified, because of the uniform chromatics of the ground and the disorder caused by the work of the fields; nevertheless, the author admits that those must have been either round or oval, with a diameter of 0,50-0,60 m (Protase 2005, 43).

Out of the information that we possess, we can distinguish the next variants out of the necropolises that the shape of the pits has been observed

Variant a. Round pit. The diameter of those pits differ from necropolis to necropolis, starting from about 0,20 m and up to about 1,25 m. This variant has been noticed in 42 cases from the necropolis from Bratei (Zaharia 1977), as well as in eight graves from the necropolis from Ghirbom (Anghel 1997, 262-264).

Variant b. Oval pit. In the case of these ones, the diameter differs from case to case, even up to the dimensions of an inhumation grave. This pit shape has been noticed in 80 graves from the necropolis from Bratei (Zaharia 1977) and just in grave 13 from the necropolis from Ghirbom (Anghel 1997, 264).

Variant c. Rectangular pit (right-angled, square or trapezoidal). In all those cases, this type of pit has rounded corners (given the instruments used to dig). Usually, this type of pits has the biggest depth and dimensions. Such pits have been found in the necropolis from Bratei (Zaharia 1977).

As to the orientation of the graves that the cinerary remains were placed into, this has only been established for the necropolis from Bratei (Figure 4). The orientation of the pits of the incineration graves has been determined in 83 cases, out of which 15 had the orientation ENE-WSW, 2 oriented SSE-NNW, 3 oriented NE-SW, 4 oriented E-W, 2 oriented NW-SE, 6 oriented WNW-ESE, one oriented NW-SE, 14 oriented NNV-SSE, 16 oriented WSW-ENE, 2 oriented SSW-NNE, 4 oriented ESE-WNW, 13 oriented NNE-SSW and one N-S (Zaharia 1977). One can notice that the orientations of the pits of those incineration graves are similar to the ones of the inhumation graves from the same necropolis (Tomegea 2011, Figure 3).

The sex and the age of the deceased could be established in pretty few cases, especially because of the lack of some anthropological studies (Figure 3).

In the case of the necropolis from Mediaş, it was established that in 7 incineration graves the calcined bones belonged to adults and in one, to a child. Unfortunately, the sex of the deceased could not be established.(Horedt 1965).

In the necropolis from Boarta, inside the urns, there have been found the calcined bones of 3 adults, 8 matures and 8 children; the sex of neither of them could be established (Dumitraşcu, Togan 1974).

For the necropolis from Bratei there has been undergone an anthropologic study on the calcined bones from some more incineration graves. There has been reached the conclusion that, out of these, 16 belonged to children, 12 to men (adults or matures), 6 to women; for other 29 graves it was established that the bones belonged to some adults or matures, without being able to determine their sex, and for other 3 graves, neither the age nor the sex could be determined (Zaharia 1977, 127).

According to the anthropologic study done on the bones coming from 29 graves from Guşteriţa it was discovered that the bones belonged to 16 women, 9

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men and 7 children (Nicolaescu-Plopşor, Wolski 1975, 250-259).
For the necropolis from Ocna Sibiului the bones from 88 graves have been analysed, and there have been discovered 72 women, 71 men and 25 children (15 girls and 10 boys). The women and men were either adults or matures (Nicolaescu-Plopşor, Wolski 1975, 165-206). Nevertheless, the data on the sex of the children should be taken into consideration with reserve.

In most of the cases, in the incineraton graves from those necropolises, there have been found, both the calcined bones of the deceased, as well as the remains of the funeral pile, ashes and embers. In some of the graves, even pieces of burned ground and remains from the funeral feast. Likewise, there have been discovered objects too, that the deceased had on it in the moment of the incineration (these have marks of having been burnt, a proof that they have been burnt on the pile together with the incinerated deceased), and objects that have been placed in the grave either as an offer, or as the fulfillment of a ritual (these don't have signs of having been burnt). We still have to mention, connected to the funeral ritual, that, in some cases, there has been noticed the practice of placing a layer of ground or sand in the urn and only after that the cinerary remains. This has been noticed in 13 graves from the necropolis from Ocna Sibiului (Protase 2005, 44) and in the urns from grave 55 and grave 136 from Bratei (Zaharia 1977, 39).

An interesting situation is the cenotaph graves in which, there have not been discovered calcined bones in the urn. There have been discovered pretty few such graves. In grave 72 in the necropolis from Bratei, there was found nothing inside the pot, and in grave 82 there was only found ground inside the pot, and vague remains of embers. In the second case, the author of the discovery considers that there is the possibility that the pot might have been put as a pot with offer inside a child inhumation grave, whose bones did not preserve. This fact is given to the pretty big depth that it was found at (-0,78 m), as well as to the fact that the pit of the grave could not be noticed (Zaharia 1977, 61). Another case of cenotaph grave was discovered to be grave 17 in the necropolis from Mediaş, where there have been found only two ceramic fragments and a few pieces of ember (Horedt 1965, 10). An analogy for those cenotaph graves is grave 15 in the incineration necropolis from Turdaş - Clocita, where there have been discovered ceramic fragments of two pots, but without any calcined bones (Hica, Blăjan 1973, 648).

From the point of view of the ritual of laying down of the calcined bones, the ashes and the eventual embers and the remains of the funeral feast, we can distinguish three main types (Figure 5):

I. Laying down straight in the pit. The calcined bones of the deceased, eventually together with the remains of the funeral pile, were placed either as a heap in the pit, or they were placed in a „bag", made in the pit (in the center or in one side), or they were spread on the bottom of the pit. At Bratei, there are 66 such graves (Zaharia 1977, 15-25). In other 18 graves of the same necropolis, there have been found ceramic fragments, placed as an offer (Zaharia 1977, 46-50); their role was to ensure the food and drink of the deceased in his way to the other world. At Mediaş, this type of ritual has been noticed in only one case, grave 17. There is the possibility that this could be a ritual grave, because there have not been discovered remains of calcined bones, but only pieces of ember and a few ceramic fragments (Horedt 1965, 10). In the necropolis from Ghirbom only one grave had calcined bones, together with ashes and embers placed straight in the pit (Anghel 1997, 263). At Târnava only the cinerary remains of 7 graves were placed straight in the pit (Horedt 1976, 51, tab. 2). In grave 24 from Guşteriţa the usage of this ritual was noticed (Nägler 1971, 65).

II. Laying down in urn. It is the most frequent case. In all the cases, the urn was placed with the opening upwards and it was not covered with a lid or slate. In most of the cases, only 2/3 of the inside of the urn was filled with the calcined bones of the deceased, ashes, embers and remains from the funeral feast. In the necropolis from Bratei, there have been discovered 45 graves with cinerary remains placed in urns (Zaharia 1977, 39-45); at Boarta, all the graves are of this kind (Dumitraşcu, Togan 1974, 93-101); at Mediaş 13, out of the 14 graves have the cinerary remains placed in an urn (Horedt 1965, 8-10). At Ocna Sibiului all the 120 graves are part of this category (Protase 2005, 42). In the necropolis from Guşteriţa 78 graves had the cinerary remains placed in an urn (Nägler 1971, 65; informations Th. Nägler). At Ghirbom 8 graves had calcined bones, ashes and embers inside the urns (Anghel 1997). In the necropolis from Târnava, 23 graves were of this kind (Horedt 1976, 51, tab. 2).

III. Laying down in urn and in the pit In this variant the calcined bones of the deceased, together with ashes, embers and remains from the funeral feast have been placed both inside the urn (straight on the bottom and not covered with a lid or slate), and straight on the pit, around the urn, under it or

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close to it. We have to mention that in this case too, usually, only 2/3 parts of the urn were filled with cinerary remains. That is to say, the laying down both in the pit of these remains must be interpreted as a form of ritual. At Bratei, there have been found 53 such cases, in which the cinerary remains were placed in an urn and straight in the pit (Zaharia 1977, 25-38). In other 16 graves, from the same necropolis, there were found ceramic fragments too, placed as an offer (Zaharia 1977, 50-56). In grave 3 and 13, from the necropolis from Ghirbom, calcined bones, ashes and embers were placed both in the urn and outside it (Anghel 1997).

The fact that broken ceramic fragments had been laid down as a ritual inside the graves have only been discovered in the necropolises from Bratei and Boarta (Figure 6), demonstrates that this ritual was only performed inside some communities and only for a special category of individuals.

We have analogies for these types of laying down of the calcined bones in the South-Carpathian area in the biritual necropolises from Frăteşti, Obârşia, Istria, Izvoru and Sultana (Fiedler 1992, 282, Figure110), yet in the incineration ones, too, from Chiscani, Dorobanţu, Tichileşti, Sihleanu (Luca, Măndescu 2001, 62). Identical ways of laying down the calcined bones can be found in the incineration necropolises from the Mediaş group in Transylvania, like those from Zalău (Băcueţ-Crişan 2011), Turdaş (Hica, Blăjan 1973), Sighişoara (Baltag 1979, 85), but even in other ones too (Ţiplic 2005). We can find analogies in the biritual necropolises from Slovakia, as well as in the ones from Devinska Nová Ves (Eisner 1952), Želovce (Čilinská 1973), Bernolákovo (Kraskovská 1962), Záhorská Bystrica (Kraskovská 1972; Fusek 1994, 180-181), and in those from Hungary too, as an example Zalakomár (Szőke, Vándor 1983) or Pókaszepetk (Sós, Salomon 1995).

As to the number of deceased buried in the same grave, we have to notice that in most of the cases, there have been found cinerary remains belonging to one only individual, yet in some of the graves there have been found remains from two individuals. We have to mention that what has been discovered so far led to the conclusion that in the case of the double graves, only the ritual of placing the cinerary remains in urns was used. Nevertheless, it is possible that more profound anthropologic studies could demonstrate that it could be two individuals even in the case of the other two kinds of ritual.

There are only two possibilities that the two deceased were placed in the same grave, that is (Figure 7): 1. the calcined bones belonging to two individuals were placed inside the same urn and 2. in the grave there were two urns, each containing the calcined bones of one deceased.

1. Double graves with the placement of the cinerary remains inside the same urn. What is interesting about the double graves is that in the same urn there have been found remains of calcined boned belonging both to a woman and to a man. Such cases have been identified in the necropolis from Ocna Sibiului (Nicolaescu-Plopşor, Wolski 1975, 194). This situation might have occured in the case of other necropolises too. There has been undergone an anthropologic study on the contents of some more urns, coming from Ocna Sibiului, whose result sustain the existence of double burials. In 82 cases, out of a total of 88 incineration graves, that have been studied from an anthropologic point of view, the urns contained the remains of two individuals: man and woman. It was proved that the death of the individuals from double graves has happened at the same time or almost at the same time. A series of written sources show unanimously the existence in that period of time, of the custom to sacrifice women at the Slav populations. The double graves of children and youths certify the existence of the custom to marry youths symbolically, after death (Nicolaescu-Plopşor, Wolski 1975, 212-218). There have also been found remains of calcined bones of a man and a woman in an urn at the necropolis from Guşteriţa. Because the bones belonging to the man were pretty few, and because this situation is a singular one in the necropolis from Guşteriţa, the character of double burial can be questioned. So that, one can assume that the calcined bones of the man happened to be placed in the urn by chance, as they must have remained from an earlier incineration or fallen down on the fireplace of the pile, where from they must have been gathered together with the bones of the woman. (Nicolaescu-Plopşor, Wolski 1975, 259).

2. Double graves with the placement of the cinerary remains inside two different urns. In 5 graves (graves 45, 47, 53, 68 and 77), from the necropolis from Guşteriţa, there have been discovered two urns (Information Th. Nägler). In grave 47, only one of the urns had calcined bones, a thing that casts doubts on the character of double burrial of this grave (Nägler 1971, 65). There is the possibility that the empty pot might have been placed only as a pot with an offer, just like in the case of the inhumation graves of this period of

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time. This hypothesis seems more credible, especially if we think that even in the case of grave 144, from the necropolis from Bratei, there has been discovered a whole pot, only full with ground, that had been placed as a pot with an offer (Zaharia 1977, 53). In those two cases we cannot eliminate the possibility that they could actually stand for cenotaph graves, just like grave 72 and grave 82 in the necropolis from Bratei, or grave 17 in the necropolis from Mediaş, or as it is the case with other inhumation graves.

Other two cases of double graves have been signaled at Boarta, in graves 13A and 22A, both having two urns. In grave 13A the calcined bones of the first urn indicated an adult, and the ones from the second urn showed the fact that they came from a child (Dumitraşcu, Togan 1974, 98-100).

At Bratei, in graves 180-181, there have been discovered two urns that contained the calcined bones of two adults or matures, their sex could not be established (Zaharia 1977, 127). There is the possibility that those came from individuals of different sex.

It seems that even in the case of incineration graves in which there have been discovered two urns, it is very possible that the remains of calcined bones come from two individuals too, woman and man. The fact that among the graves from Guşteriţa studied from an anthropologic point of view there was one with two urns, one with the calcined bones of a man and the other of a woman, comes to sustain the previous statement (Nicolaescu-Plopşor, Wolski 1975, 260).

In the South-Carpathian area we have analogies in the bi-ritual necropolis from Obârşia, as well as in the incineration ones from Chiscani and Păuleasca (Luca, Măndescu 2001, 63), yet without reference to the sex of the deceased.

The only analogy that we have from the Carpathian Basin is grave 246 from the necropolis from Devinska Nová Ves, where there have been discovered two urns, but without details on the sex of the one/ones laid in those urns (Eisner 1952, 69; Fusek 1994, 171).

The main artefact category discovered in those graves is ceramics. The shape of the pots is jar-pot, without handle or lid, with the exception of the amphora from grave 7A from Boarta (Dumitraşcu, Togan 1974, 97). The pots discovered have mainly been used as urns to lay down the calcined bones of the deceased, eventually together with ashes, embers and remains from the funeral feast. Likewise, some of the pots had been broken as a ritual and placed in the graves together with the remains of the funeral pile. We still have to mention the fact that the ceramic was either processed by hand or at the wheel, some of the pots having straight lines, lines in waves or combinations among those. From a chronologic point of view, these ceramic pots belong to the 7th up to the 9th centuries (for a typology of the ceramic pots of this period see Cosma 2011).

As far as the other inventory objects are concerned (Figure 8), these have been discovered in all types of graves, no matter the way of laying down of the cinerary remains (Figure 11). We have to mention the fact that all those pieces have signs of burning, a fact that proves that they were part of the objects that the deceased had on it regularly. These can be classified in some more categories (Figure 9):

a. Tools and instruments:

Bone combs. One single such piece, having a single row of teeth has been discovered in grave 1 from the necropolis from Ocna Sibiului (Protase 2005, 56).

Knife bone handles. At Ocna Sibiului in grave 1, together with the comb, there has been discovered a fragment of an animal bone ornamented with small circles, coming from the handle of a knife (Protase 2005, 56). At Ghirbom, in grave 3, a knife handle has been discovered (Anghel 1997, 262).

Spindle whorls. Only one piece has been discovered in the necropolis from Bratei, in the urn from grave 199 having signs of secondary burning (Zaharia 1977, 83, Figure 32.11-12).

Knives. Those have been discovered in graves 1A, 15A, 18A and 26A in the necropolis from Boarta (Dumitraşcu, Togan 1974, 94); in 37 graves from Bratei (Zaharia 1977); in graves 4, 5 and 9 from Ghirbom (Anghel 1997, 262-263). Also, whole knives or fragments of them have been discovered in 15 graves from Ocna Sibiului (Protase 2005, 52), as well as in other nine graves from Guşteriţa (Nägler 1971, 68).

Flints. Those have been discovered in graves 5, 31, 40, 45 and 71 in the necropolis from Bratei (Zaharia 1977).

b. Clothing items:

Buckles. In eight incineration graves (graves 17, 64, 66, 79, 129, 178, 195 and 210) from Bratei. there have been discovered fragments of or whole buckles of rectangular shape, and from grave 69 in the same necropolis, there comes a trapezoidal shaped buckle (Zaharia 1977, 83). In each of five

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graves from Guşteriţa (graves 3, 32, 55, 68, 70) there has been discovered one buckle (Nägler 1971, 68). We have to mention a bronze buckle needle found in the incineration grave 5 from Ghirbom, from the 1995 digging (Anghel 1997, 263), as well as other two iron needles found in graves 90 and 95 from Ocna Sibiului (Protase 2005, 52).

c. Weapons:

Arrow tips. In the urn from grave 21 in the necropolis from Bratei, there has been discovered a piece of rhomboidal shape with fastening tube (Zaharia 1977, 83). Two similar arrow tips have been discovered in the graves from Ocna Sibiului (Protase 2005, 52). One arrow tip has been discovered in grave 7 and one in grave 10 in the necropolis from Mediaş (Horedt 1965, 9, Figure 9.2, Figure 9.4).

Spear tips. In grave 8 from the necropolis from Mediaş there has been discovered the only piece (Horedt 1965, 9, Figure9.3).

d. Finery items:

Belt ornaments. There have been discovered 6 avar cast items, one coming from grave 151, and the other ones from grave 182, from the necropolis from Bratei (Zaharia 1977, 88-89). In grave 2 from the necropolis from Ghirbom there has been found an iron button applied ornament (Anghel 1997, 262).

Pendants. In both graves 158 and 191 from the necropolis from Bratei there have been discovered one small bronze pendant (Zaharia 1977, 83).

Earrings. In the necropolis from Ocna Sibiului there have been discovered two simple bronze earrings in grave 44 (Protase 2005, 53). At Bratei, in grave 145, there has been found only a fragment of a silver lunule decorated with granules surrounded by small circles (Zaharia 1977, 86-87) and in grave191 two simple silver earrings. In the same necropolis, in graves 158 and 196 there have been discovered bronze granules that probably came from earrings, and in grave 38 there has been found a fragment of a simple bronze earring. In grave 18A from the necropolis from Boarta there has been discovered a bronze curl ring (Dumitraşcu, Togan 1974, 99).

Rings. One iron piece has been found in grave 166 from Bratei (Zaharia 1977, 23).

Bracelets. One iron piece with thickened ends has been found in grave 29 in the necropolis from Guşteriţa (Nägler 1971, 68).

Beads. Made of glass, chalcedony or even silver. They have different shapes and colour, being discovered just one, two or in beads. Such ornaments have been discovered in 14 graves from Bratei (graves 32, 36, 55, 66, 67, 91, 95, 98, 158, 182, 189, 199, 209 and 210) and in one from Ocna Sibiului (grave 68). Likewise, in grave 3 from the necropolis from Ghirbom there has been discovered a glass bead.

Except of those inventory objects, we have to mention that in the necropolis from Bratei in grave 182 there have also been discovered fragments of bronze twisted wire, probably coming from a necklace (Zaharia 1977, 83). We have to mention also the iron clamps and nails that were found in grave 38 in the necropolis from Ocna Sibiului (Protase 2005, 52).

For the graves that the sex or age of the deceased could be established (Figure 10), one can notice that only in the child graves there have been discovered all the four types of inventory, while in the ones belonging to men and women, tools and implements, but also clothing accessories are predominant. Nevertheless, the lack of ornaments from the graves attributed pretty clearly to women, can be only given to the lack of anthropologic studies and not to the fact that those were not in their inventory. Likewise, we have to keep in mind the fact that while burning, many of the ornaments were destroyed.

From the point of view of the presence of the inventory items inside the graves (Figure 11), one can notice the fact that all the four categories of objects can be found only in the graves where the laying down of the cinerary remains was made in an urn or in an urn and in the pit. We have to mention also the fact that there have not been found inventory objects in the graves in which the cinerary remains had been placed in urn, but in which there has been noticed the presence of ceramic fragments laid as ritual.

All those inventory pieces are identical to the ones discovered in the inhumation graves from the same necropolises (Tomegea 2011).

The funeral inventory has analogies, in Transylvania, both with the Avar graves, and with the ones assigned to the Western Slavs from the tumular necropolis from Someşeni. Likewise, similar pieces have been discovered in the biritual necropolises assigned to the Avar-Slavs from Hungaria and Slovakia. Given to those analogies, these pieces are dated between the 7th and the 9th centuries.

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The food offer had an important role in the performance of the funeral ritual. This situation is better documented for the necropolis from Ocna Sibiului where in 20 graves there have been found remains of animal offer burnt on the pile, together with the deceased. In most of the graves, there have been found bones of fowls (hens), but even from small animals unidentified by the study undergone, and in one case, there were found remains from a bovidae (grave 50). The remains from the funeral feast have been identified for 11 incineration graves and they came from fowls, bovidae and porcines. The study has shown the fact that only in two child graves there have been found remains from the animal offer and the funeral feast, the rest belonged to women and men. It was also established that in the graves of women, fowls and ovine-caprinae were predominant (porcines were rare), while, in the graves of men there were especially bones from bovidae and porcines. So, it is possible that this fact has a symbolic meaning (Protase 2005, 48-50). Remains of the funeral feast, through the presence of burnt bones of fowls, ovine-caprinae and bovidae, have been found in the necropolis from Guşteriţa too. We have to mention that this type of food offer is found both in the inhumation graves from the bi-ritual necropolises, as well as in the graves from the Slav-Avar necropolises from Slovakia and Hungary.

As a conclusion, in the incineration graves from the biritual necropolises of Transylvania, the predominant characteristic is laying down the cinerary remains inside an urn, followed by the placement of those right inside the pit. The laying down of the cinerary remains both inside the urn and in the pit was noticed only in the case of the necropolises from Bratei and Ghirbom and it can be interpreted as a form of ritual. Concerning the sex of the incinerated ones, there can be noticed no difference between the way of laying down of the cinerary remains. On the number of the deceased laid down in one grave, we draw the attention on the fact that the rule is the graves in which there were found only the cinerary remains of one individual. The laying down of the cinerary remains coming from two individuals, inside the same urn, was noticed in one single necropolis (the one from Ocna Sibiului), and the laying down of the cinerary remains of the two individuals in different urns was noticed in three necropolises (Boarta, Bratei and Guşteriţa), yet in a very small number of graves. Nevertheless, if we take into account the fact that in most of those graves, that have been studied from an anthropologic point of view, there have been discovered cinerary remains belonging to male and female individuals, we can believe the written sources according to which, at the Slav populations when the man died, the woman was sacrificed. The problem about those double graves shall still remain an open question, as it can only be solved through detailed anthropologic studies. The laying down inside of the grave of some ceramic fragments can be interpreted only as a special form of ritual. We believe that those ceramic fragments could have been placed as an offer too (and not as pots for offer) to help the deceased in its way to the other world. A special situation is the whole pots discovered together with urns (in grave 47 from Guşteriţa and grave 144 from Bratei) and that could be interpreted both as pots with offer and ritual graves – cenotaphs. Still, as a form of ritual, we have to mention the presence of ashes, embers and eventually the animal offer. Both ceramic and the other inventory objects date those graves between the 7th and the 9th centuries. From an ethnic point of view, it is pretty hard to reach a verdict. Nevertheless, beginning with the 4th until the end of the 6th centuries/ beginning of the 7th century, in Transylvania, the ritual of incineration hasn't been archeologically documented, a reason that takes our thoughts to the Slav population that entered Transylvania. Some researchers believe that it is the indigenous population, who has either preserved the incineration rite, or they had adopted it (Stanciu 2002, 131). If we take into account the anthropologic studies made on the necropolises from Guşteriţa and Ocna Sibiului, it can be stated that, in the first case it is about a Mediterranean population, a native one, and in the second case, one can talk about a Slav population. Taking into account these anthropologic studies, the funeral inventory, as well as the practiced ritual, correlated with analogies, we believe that it could be all about a living together of a Slav population together with natives. Nevertheless, if we take into account the fact that those graves are part of the biritual necropolises, one must not forget the Avar element of the inhumation graves.

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Figure 11
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Necropolis	Discovery/ Research Period	Research type	Inhumation graves	Cremation graves	Literature
Berghin - *În Peri*	1971; 1977-1979; 1991; 1993-1994	Systematic research	12	348	Aldea *et alii* 1980, 151; Blăjan, Botezatu 2000, 457.
Boarta - *Pîrîul Zăpozii Şoivan*	1965-1968	Systematic research	2	33	Dumitraşcu, Togan 1974.
Bratei - *Cimitirul nr. 2*	1964-1967	Systematic research	34	210	Zaharia 1977.
Ghirbom - *Gruiul Fierului*	1961-1962; 1974-1975; 1995	Rescue excavations; systematic research	9	11	Aldea *et alii* 1980; Anghel 1997.
Guşteriţa - *Fântâna Rece*	1856; 1966-1970	Accidental discovery; systematic research	1	79	Nägler 1971.
Mediaş - *Dealul Furcilor*	1960-1961	Rescue excavations	3	14	Horedt 1965.
Ocna Sibiului - *Lab*	1961; 1962-1965	Systematic research	15	120	Protase 1965; Protase 2005.
Târnava - *Palamor*	1972; 1973; 1974; 1975	Accidental discovery; survey	5	31	Velter 2002, 450; Blăjan, Botezatu 2000, 456-457.

Tab. 1

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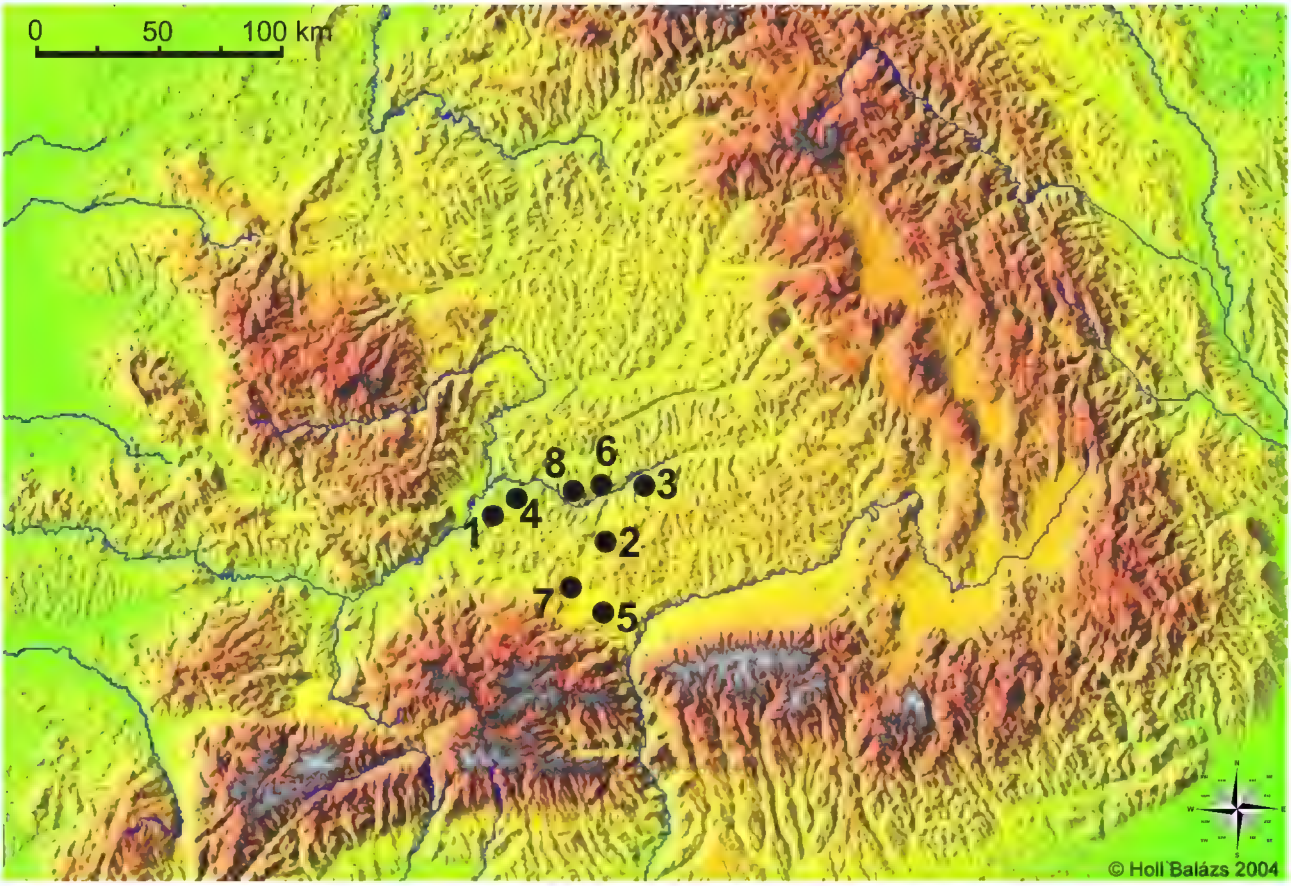

Figure 1

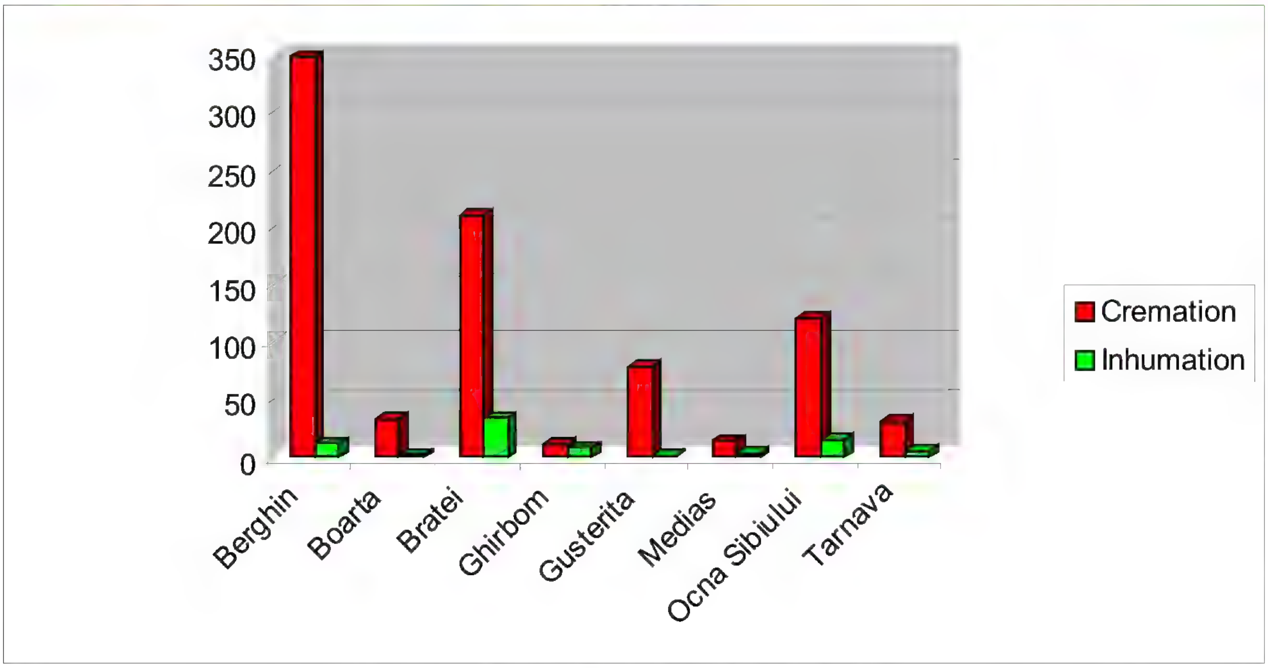

Figure 2

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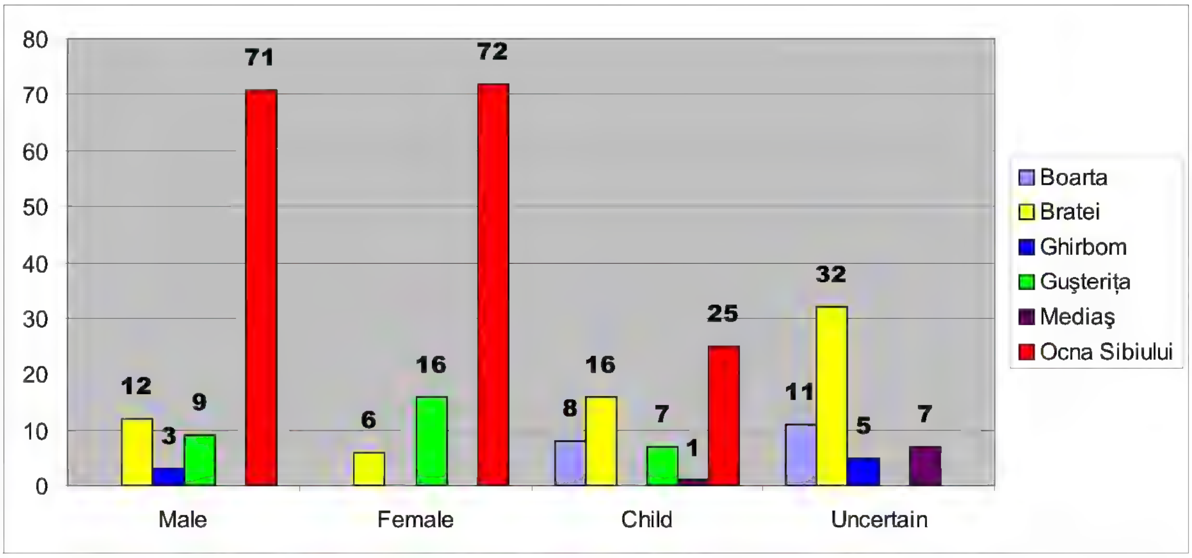

Figure 3

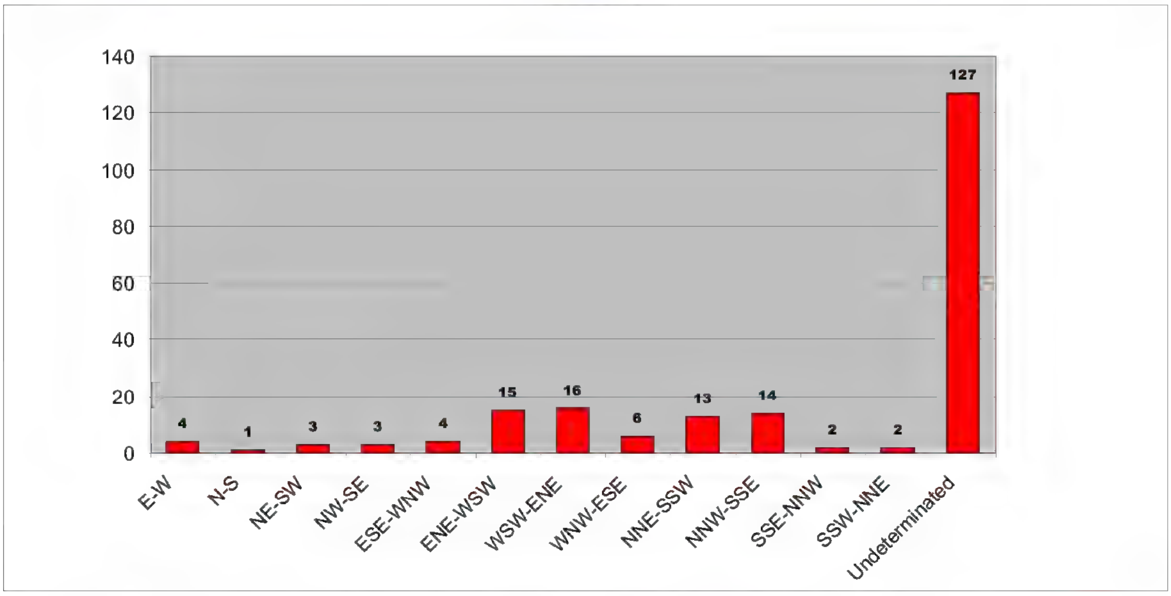

Figure 4

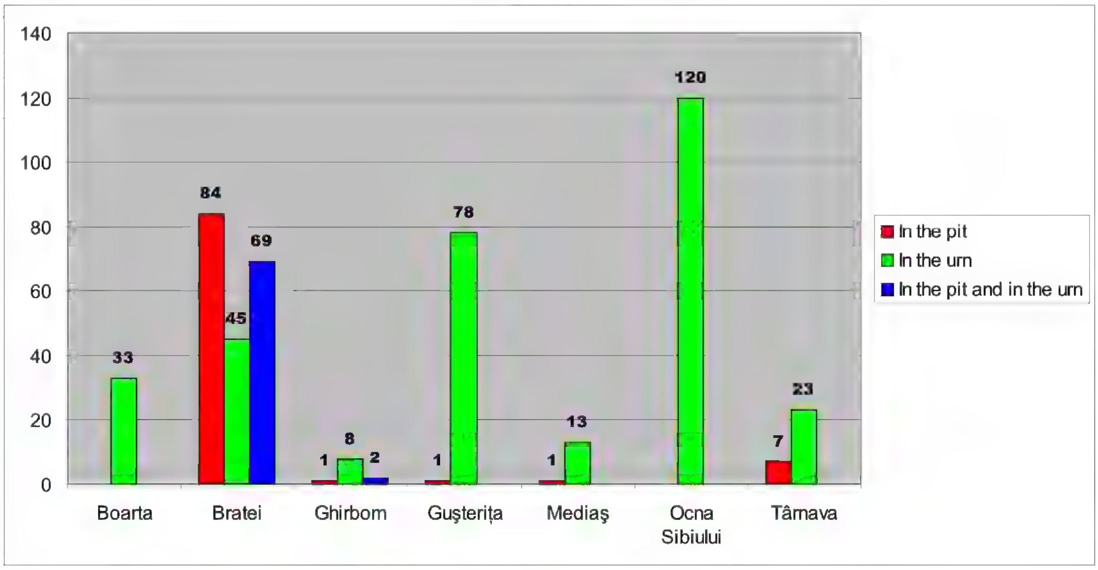

Figure 5

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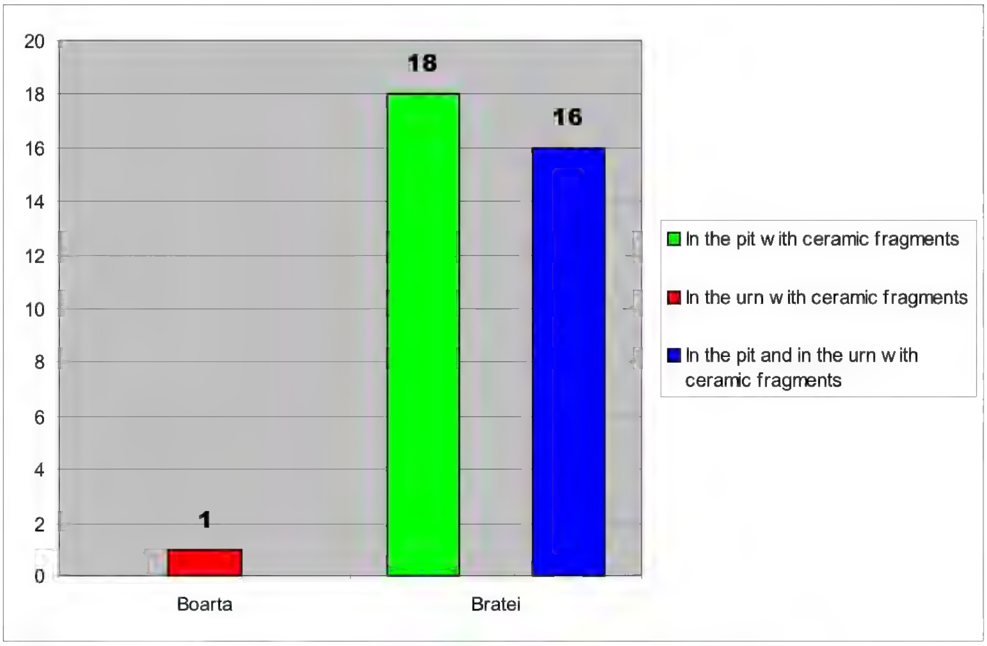

Figure 6

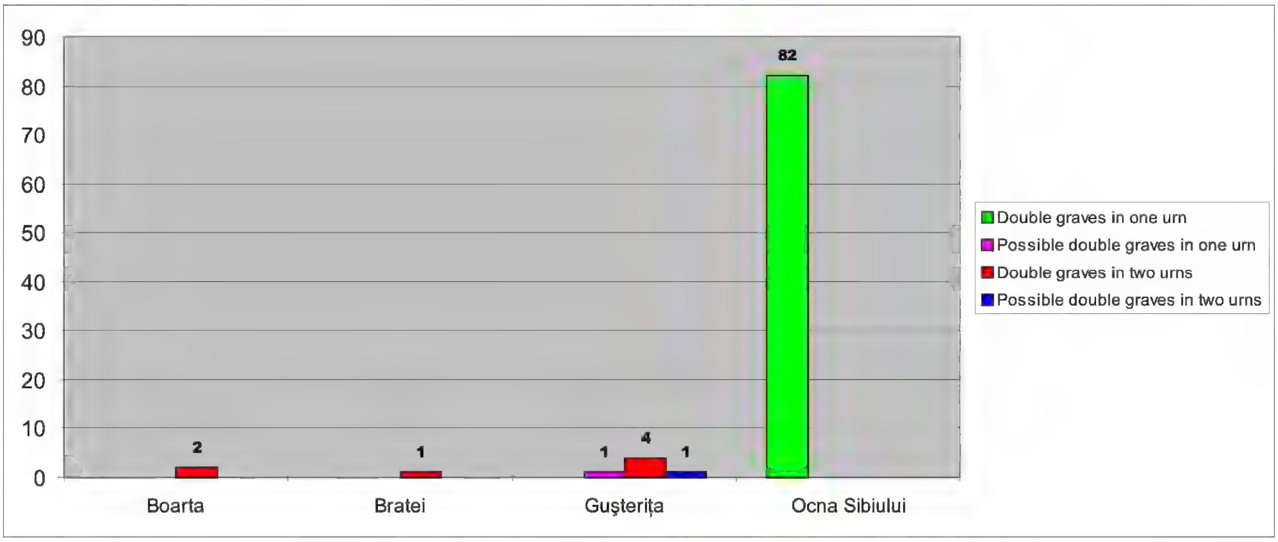

Figure 7

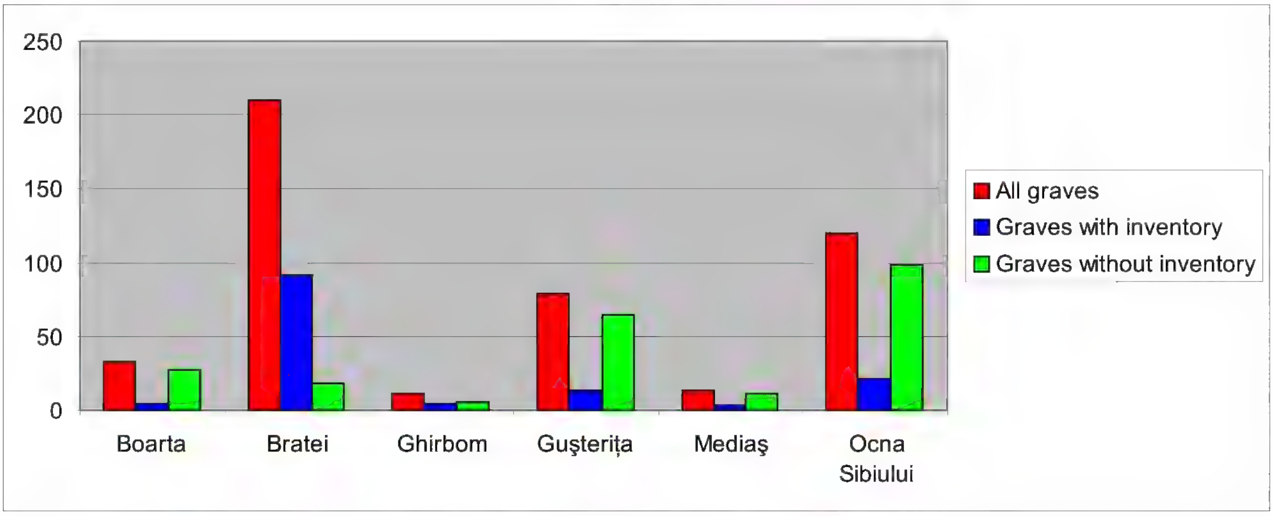

Figure 8

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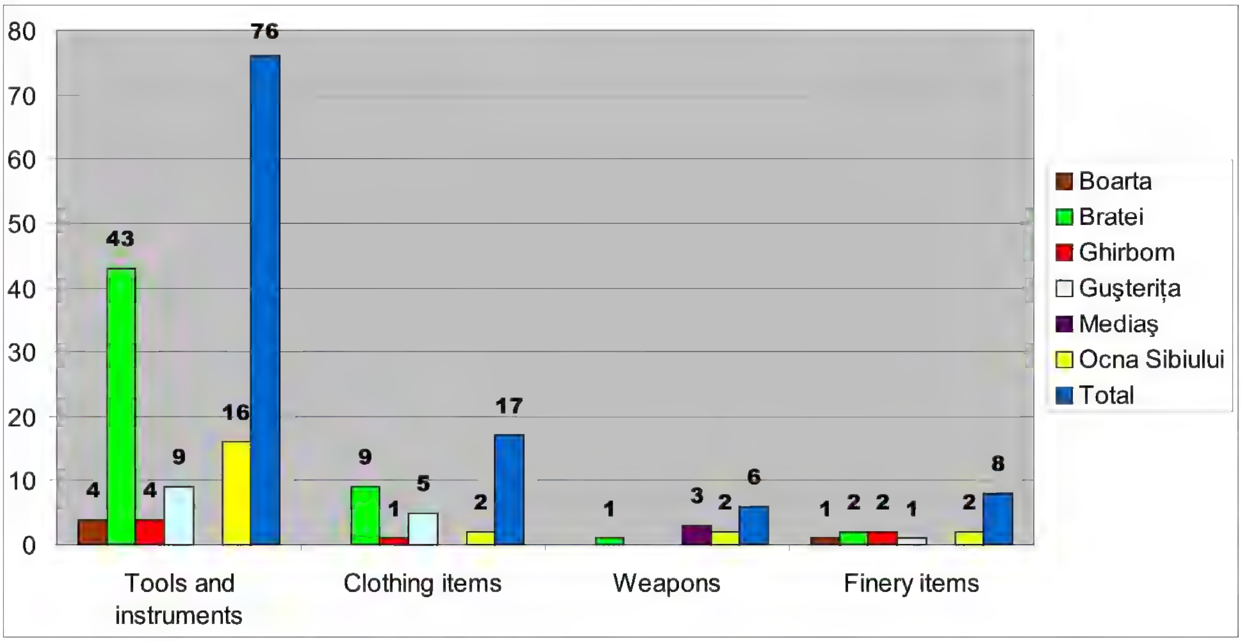

Figure 9

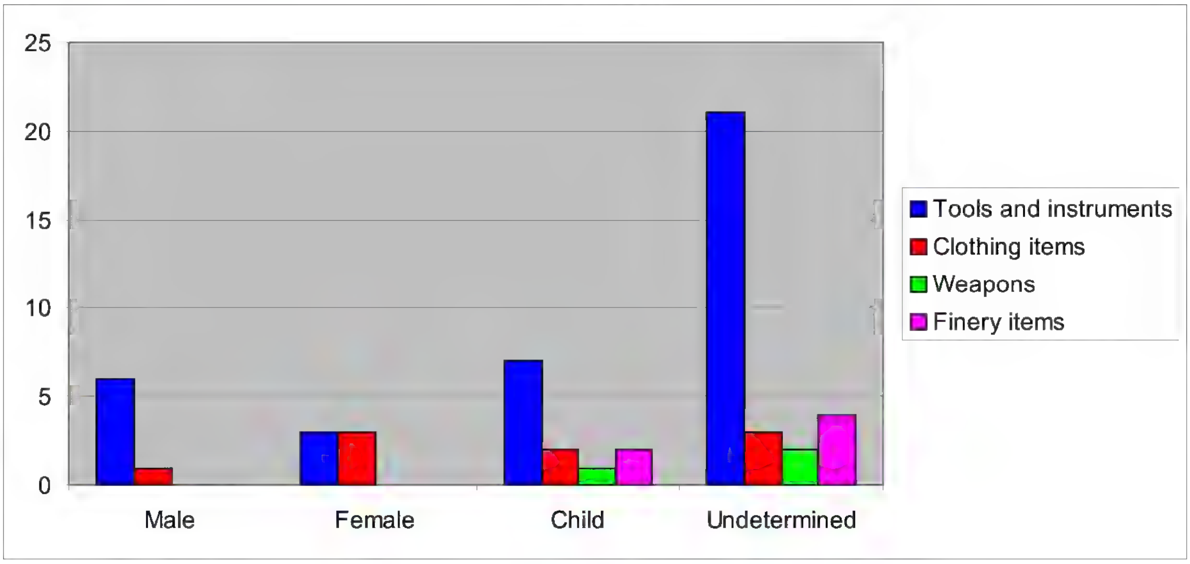

Figure 10

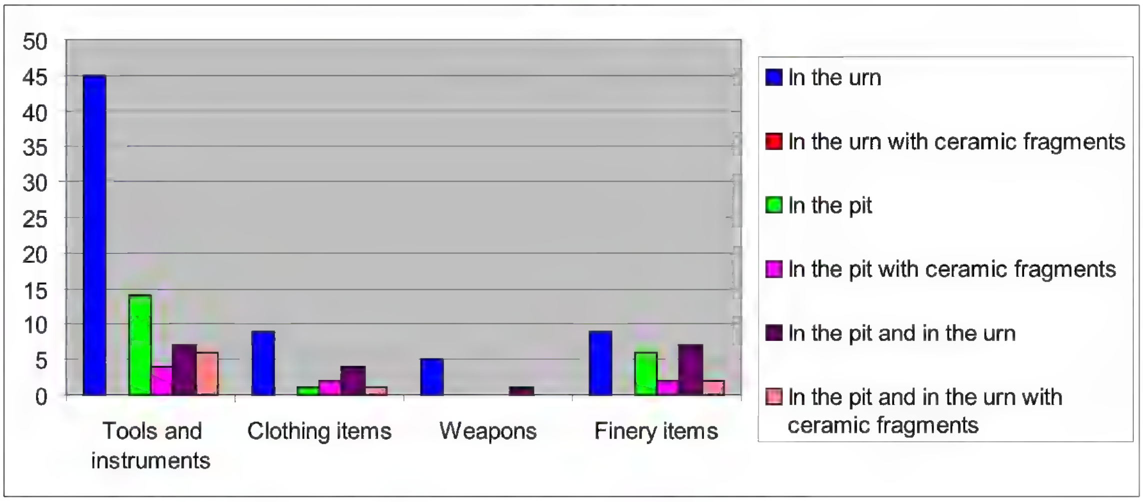

Figure 11

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BRAID ORNAMENTS FROM EARLY MEDIEVAL CEMENTERIES - 10th CENTURY A TYPOLOGY. I

Aurel DRAGOTĂ*
Anca NIŢOI**

Abstract: *The existence of braid ornament s in early medieval cemeteries of 10th century is closely related to oriental environment, mostly with the riding populations from the eastern steppes. Most of these discs have different decoration motifs which can be considered as dating elements.*
Keywords: *Early Middle Ages, cemetery, grave inventory, typology, braid ornaments*

Rezumat: *Aparţia discurilor de păr în cimitirele medievale de secol X are legături cu mediul oriental, fiind strâns legate de venirea populaţiilor de călăreţi din stepele asiatice. Majoritatea prezintă diferite moduri de decorare, motiv pentru care acestea pot fii considerate elemente de datare ale acestor podoabe.*
Cuvinte cheie*: ev mediu timpuriu, necropolă, inventar funerar, tipologie, discuri de păr*

Within the inventory of 10th century graves, the braids ornaments represent an interesting category. These can be found in pair or as a singular piece having diversified decorative motifs. According to D. Csallány these are tribal symbols marking the pertaining to a horse riding “nation”. From a more functional approach, these are to be found either locked in hair, as a medallions or as ornaments to ribbons from a headkerchief.

Typologically speaking these have different forms and shapes, the discoid one being the most frequent form found in graves. The ornaments usually consist of zoomorphic, geometrical or vegetal motifs. The most common zoomorphic motif is the one with a gryphon, in some cases associated with floral one. These discs are mostly discovered laying on the chest, as pendant, as hair ornaments or as belt items in Hungarian women burials. A close analysis regarding the similarities but also the differences between those items indicates the existence of different workshops. The Avar influence is to be found in different details such as an open or a curved beak, with a sight pointed in a left direction, a lifted leg or with or without a wing (Csallány 1959, 290). The gryphon is seen in three different manners with wings like in the cemeteries of Hencida, Sarkad or Gyula, combined with vegetal elements as it is the case of the Eger piece, or with a wide open beak like in Egyek, Tiszafüred and Ungaria (Csallány 1959, 290). D. Csallány argued that the discs having also floral motifs with seven ramifications like the one from Egyek can be traced in the Avar world of the 8th or 9th centuries or even earlier period the 7thcentury. Their appearance nearby the hips sometimes having leather remains indicates a decorative function. It is very likely that the Egyek piece is a belt accessory.

Initially these last discs were described having a dear as ornament, but D. Csallány disagrees stating that all the elements of a predator namely the beak, tail or claws uphold the idea of a gryphon representation (*Csallány 1959*, 289sq)..

Another decoration frequently encountered on the braid ornaments is the rider in association with the gryphon or five circles (links), like it is the case of the Békéscsaba piece. These items decorated with the “enchanted horse” is to be found either singular or in pairs.

In the category of the rider decoration discs are included the ones from Galoşpetreu, Pusta Bucova (fig. 1.c), Mandok, Alba Iulia or from the University of Budapest. R. R. Heitel attributes those pieces to the Hungarian cultural space from the 10th century but excludes the theory of N. Chidioşan who believes these were Pechenegs (Heitel 1994-1995). The origin of this symbol can be traced in the eastern world, Byzantine or even Merovingian.

According to Révész, L., braid ornaments made of a circular disc to which are added other four decoration elements are mostly discovered in women graves from all social categories. A central

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disc with four other smaller ones is to be found in the cemeteries of Halimba-*Cseres*/M. 859 (Török 1962, 27-29, 114, Pl. VIII/1-2, XIII), Karos-*Eperjesszog* (necr. II)/M. 56 (Révész 1996, 87-89), Bashalom (necr. I) /M. 17 (Csallány 1959, Fig. 8/20; Dienes 1956, 252, 69, t. 3-4), Csólyospálos-*Csólyosi puszta* (Kada 1912, 323) (fig. 3.i) and Békéscsaba-Erzsébéthely (Révész 1997, 169, Fig. 2/1). A similar piece is kept in the Hungarian National Museum (Török 1962, 27) having an unknown finding place. In the same category, as a variant one could also include the pair of silver discs from (Hampel 1905, 489, Pl. 349/2-3). These pieces were used in the Pannonia by the two maximum three generations, up to the six decade of the 10th century (Révész 1997, 173). D. Csallány is including them in the category of vegetal decoration motifs (Csallány 1959, 290).

Other scientists saw them as transpositions of sun amulets from the Caucasian region. The Békéscsaba-Erzsébéthely item would represent a symbolical representation of the world or the world tree seen backwards, with the tree crown pointing out to the four horizons. The central part would be the Earth with the four horizons.

The Hungarian scientists remarked that inside a pair of such discs there are a lot differences regarding the shape, ornament or use. The realization of such piece was usually performed when the oldest one was destroyed or replaced. The first items usually had a flatten form, while the later were curved. Their appearance in women or in young girls' graves along with some popular beliefs allowed the conclusion that such inventories differed according to rank and age. The girls usually had one disc knitted in their hair, while women had two, the second disc being an imitation of the first one. In children graves both situation can be encountered. The item from Békéscsaba-Erzsébéthely/ Bánski Andras Báthory Str. No. 82 is decorated with the *enchanted horse* an earlier motif (Révész 1997, 171).

Such form is usually coming from eastern steppe where pendants decorated with a central disc surrounded by other four or *the horse and rider* motif is frequently encountered. In pre-Christian Bulgarians one could also see such pieces. The Hungarian took the eastern model and framed it. Isolated items such as the one from Lausanne Museum should be regarded as random discoveries more likely an import. In Slovakian territories the decoration consists of gryphons in the two variants described above.

A combined decoration between *the tree of life and a rider* is seen in the finds from Mača, Kalocsa area, Eger or Nyíracsád- *Szentirmay föld*.

Older items seem to be the ones from Mándok, Rakamaz şi Sárrétudvari- Hízóföld/M. 83, their form being closer to the earliest examples from East. These are usually combined with other funerary inventory objects such as bronze bracelets with twisted endings (Aldebró-*Mocsáros*, Galoşpetreu, Békéscsaba-Erzsébéthely), rhomboid mounts (Bashalom), ceramic bowls (Galoşpetreu) or harness items (Bashalom, Békéscsaba-*Erzsébéthely*, Karos).

All these artifacts associated with braid ornaments lead to the conclusion that all belong to the 10th century.

Repertoire of discoveries:

- *Alba Iulia - Staţia de Salvare*/S.XXVIII/M.1 (woman)- in a second phase grave, aside the knee caps two bronze discs of circular form showing a rider with raised arms were discovered - MNUAI, f.n., d= 4, 3 cm, gr.= 2 mm, 10th C - (Heitel 1994-1995, 419 ; Ciugudean 1996, 14, Fig. 64; Ciugudean-Pinter-Rustoiu 2006, 15, cat. 30-31). (fig.1, d-e)
- *Aldebró-Mocsáros/M. 13 (infans II)* – two bronze discs made in the same mould picturing some mythical quadrupeds along with a border of palmettes (d= 6, 5 cm) (Fodor 1996, 383, Fig. 1); they were found along with necklace made of beads and shells, a twisted bracelet with spiral endings, a plain bracelet, mounts and anklets with twisted endings (Révész 2008, 22sqq, 409, Pl. 3/8-9). (fig.4. i)
- *Bashalom* (necr. I)/M. f (17). A skeleton having on the left side the remains of the horse skull and legs The inventory consists of silver anklets with twisted endings, two bracelets, one on each arm, and an open ring on the left hand. Along with these, next to the neck and in the proximity of the torso rhomboid silver mounts, beads and two braid rings consisting of a central ring to which four other smaller rings are attached. A bit with two rings was found in the horse mouth and between the two skeletons a pair of stirrup (Csallány 1959, 292, Fig. 8/20; Dienes 1956, 252, 69, Pl. LXIX/ 3-4, Fodor 1996, 187, fig. 5/7); (fig. 3.h, j)
- *Békéscsaba-Erzsébéthely/Str. Bánski Andras Báthory No. 82*- woman's grave discovered in 1963. The inventory included a necklace of glass beads, a plain bronze bracelet with enlarged and twisted endings, a fragment from a knife, a belt ending, harness ornaments, strap distributors, a pair o stirrups and a two braid ornaments. One of them is decorated with the tree of life having in

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front the representation of a horse. The lower part has two holes (d= 4,9 cm). The other disc made of bronze has a ring in middle to which four leafs are attached. (Révész 1997, 169, Fig. 2/8). (fig. 3.a; fig.5, a)

- *Budapest – Kispest-Szentlőrinc-* braid disc with floral decoration (Csallány 1959, 288, Fig. 13/ 7; Fodor 1996, 304, fig.1); (fig. 4. l)
- *Čakajovce (Slovakia)/M. 269 (girl, inf. III)* – bronze braid disc in a circular frame with stylized decoration (d= 5, 3 cm), (Rejholcova 1995, 29, Pl. XLVII/1; Hanuliak-Rejholcová 1999, Pl. 49/46 a). (fig. 6. b)
- *Dudeştii Vechi-Pusta Bucova/Bucova II* (woman grave) – bronze disc (d= 47 mm, gr.= 2, 5 mm), decorated with a horse rider with raised arms (Bejan – Mare 1997, 139-158, Pl. I/5; Bejan – Mare 1998, 323-338; Fodor 1980, 191, Fig. 1/1; Balint 1991, 241, Pl. LXII a/3; Csallány 1959, 285sq, Fig. 18/8; Fodor 1996, 387, fig. 1).
- *Eger-Szépaszony* -völgy- (d= 5 cm) disc showing a mythical animal combined with palmettes (Hampel 1904, 150sq, Fig. 198; Csallány 1959, 290, Fig. 17/8; Révész 2008, 112, Pl. 37/2) (fig. 2.c)
- *Egyek – Main str.* – a pair of braid ornaments discovered near a skeleton in 1957. One of them is portraying a gryphon with the head pointed in a left direction similar to the one from Tiszafüred (Csallány 1959, 288, Fig. 12/ 5-6, 7); (fig. 4.h)
- *Galoşpetreu- Dîmbul Morii* (woman grave) (?). The funerary inventory consisted of a ceramic bowl, three buttons, a plain bracelet with twisted endings and two circular braid ornaments. One of them, made of bronze has a circular like frame with a horse and a rider with raised arms placed inside it (d= 46 mm, weight= 2 mm). The second one is showing in the circular frame a gryphon having an attacking position (d= 56 mm, weight= 2 mm). The gryphon tail is curved and ends in a heart shape (Chidioşan 1965, 238, Fig. 6-7; Cosma 2001, 522, Pl. 16/1; Heitel 1994-1995). (fig. 1.a; 4.a)
- *Gódőllo* – pair of silver braid ornaments (Hampel 1904, 136, Fig. 121; Hampel 1905, 489, Pl. 349/2-3; Szöke 1962, Pl. I/1, Fodor 1996, 390), (Fig. 3.b-c)
- *Halimba/M. 859* (girl) – on both sides of the skull bronze earrings, a glass beads, two pendants from animal tooth, two denary from Hugo of Provence, two buttons and a pair of braid ornaments in the neck area (Török 1962, 27, 144, Pl. XIII); (fig. 3.f-g)
- *Hencida* – two open bronze discs decorated with mythical animals, - gryphons? - (d= 5, 6 cm). Analogies: *Sarkad, Gyula* (Szöke 1962, Pl. I/2; Fodor 1996, 234, Fig. 1); (fig. 4.d)
- *Kalocsa area-* pair of open discs showing a quadruped (d= 5, 1 cm) (Fodor 1996, 315, Fig. 1). (fig.2.b)
- *Karos/M. 56.* Woman skeleton with a horse skull and members. The inventory comprises two earrings placed on the both sides of the skull glass beads, a pair of bronze braid ornaments made of five rings each, a silver bracelet 24 silver mounts in the legs area (boot ornaments); Fragment from a knife along with a pair of pear shape stirrups, an iron buckle, bells and a bit completed the inventory (Révész 1996, 87sqq, Pl. 94/5-6); (fig. 3.d-e)
- *Mača* – two discs like the ones from Eger, Nyíracsád- Szentirmay föld or from Kalocsa region (Točik 1987, 220, Fig. 24/1-2).
- *Museum from Lausanne* (Fodor1980, 191, Fig. 1/2) (fig. 1.b)
- *Mándok-Tetenkehegy* (Hampel 1905, Pl. 383/9); (fig. 5. d)
- *Nyíracsád - Szentirmay fold* – open disc made of bronze portraying a tremendous creature that is looking to the left. Its tail is mixed with leafs (d= 4, 8 cm). A tree with three ramifications is seen on the back of the creature (d= 4, 8 cm). (Fodor 1996, 245), (fig. 2.a)
- *Rakamaz* – open disc decorated with a horse as an earlier variation of the *Tree of life along with a horse* motif. Along with the disc other pieces mostly made of silver were also purchased by Josa Andras Museum in 1914, namely an open plain bracelet, fragment of a silver dish and several glass beads. All of the items belonged to a woman's grave. The braid ornament from Rakamaz is similar with the one from Mándok and belongs to a narrow environment (Fodor 1996, 161, Fig. 1; Csallány 1959, 284, 297, Fig. 8/ 15); (fig. 5. c)
- *Sárrétudvari- Hízóföld/M. 83 (inf. I)* – a infant grave with an inventory made of beads, deteriorated rings and a disc made of bronze portraying a horse and a rider in an archaic version 4,6 /3, 7 cm (Nepper 2002, 310, Pl. 251/12); *M. 267 (inf. I-II).* Around the skeleton were discovered a bracelet, beads, and two discs casted in bronze decorated with animal figures d= 5, 1 cm; 6, 05 x 6, 05 cm (Fodor 1996, 276, Fig. 44; Nepper 2002, 352, Pl. 339/9-10); (fig. 4. f-g; fig. 5. b)
- *Sárospatak – Baksahowok* (Fodor 1996, 169 fig.1)
- *Sarkad - Peckesvár* – Open silver disc with a quadruped with a lifted tail (d= 5, 8 cm), (Fettich 1931, 48-112; Fodor 1996, 347, Fig. 1). (fig.4. e)
- *Tiszafüred – Nagykenderföldek* – an open disc casted in bronze havinga quadruped as decoration. (Fodor 1996, p.290 fig.1); (fig. 4. j)

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- *Tiszalök – Kisvajasdomb* - an open bronze disc with a central ring and four smaller ones positioned less symmetrical. (Fodor 1996, p.198 fig.1)
- *Tvrodošovce (Csárdahely)/M. 1.* A pair of braid ornaments was placed on the chest of skeleton. They are identical are portraying an animal, most likely a deer (Točik 1992, 163, Fig. 110/1-2). (fig.fig. 4. b-c)

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LIST OF ILLUSTRATION/LISTA ILUSTRAŢIILOR

Figure 1.*Tree of Life Motif/ Motivul Copacul Vieţii*
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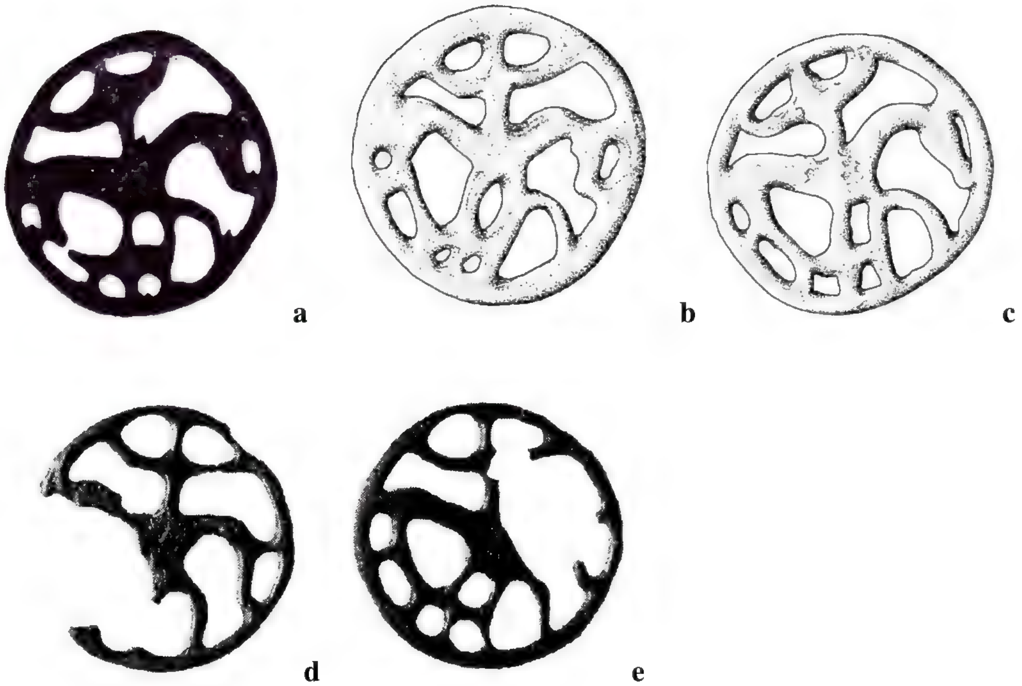

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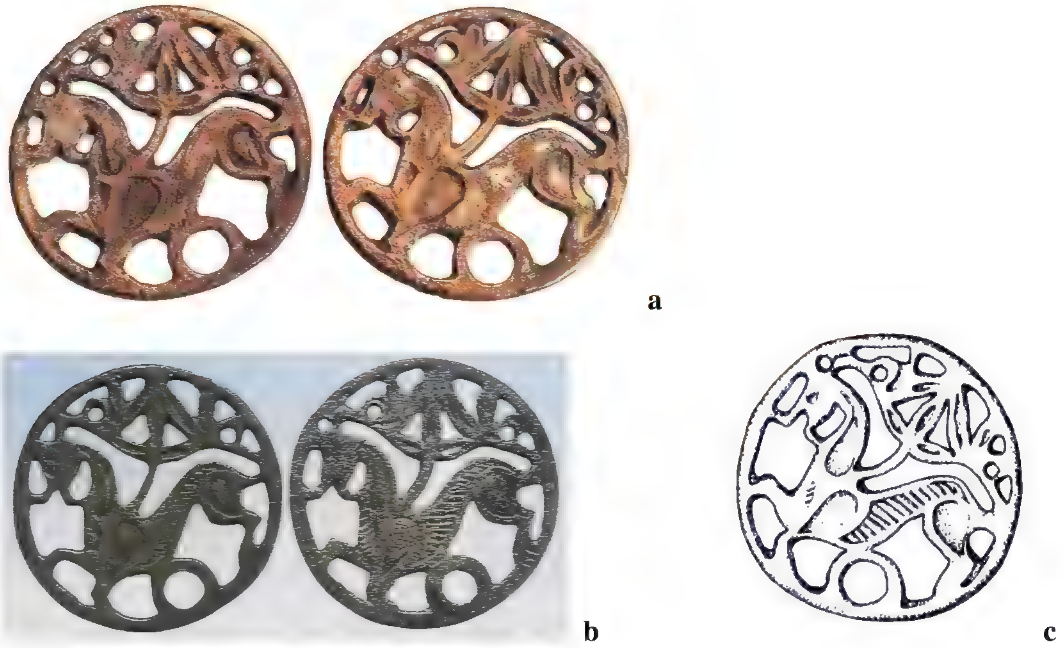

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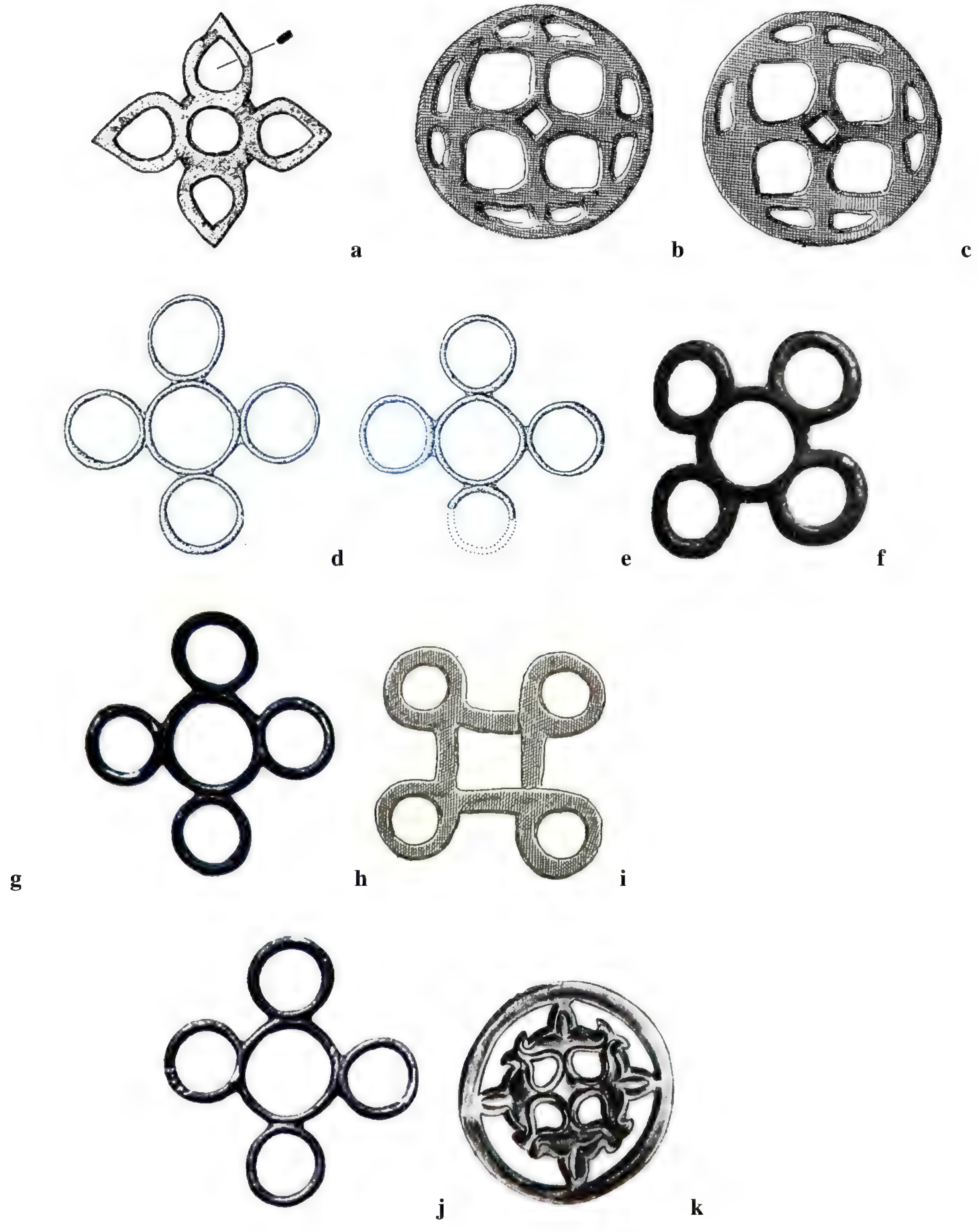

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Figure 3

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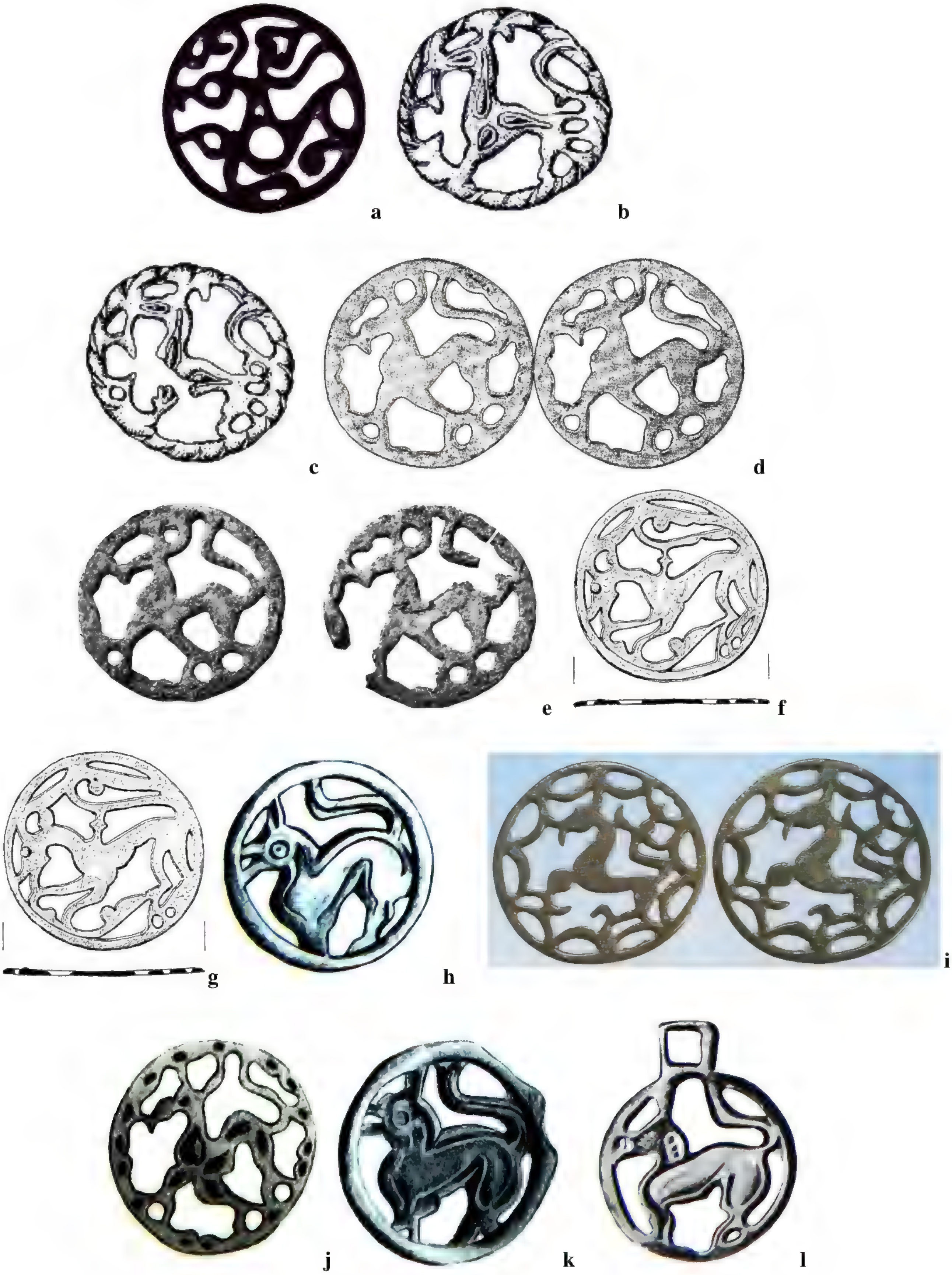

Figure 4

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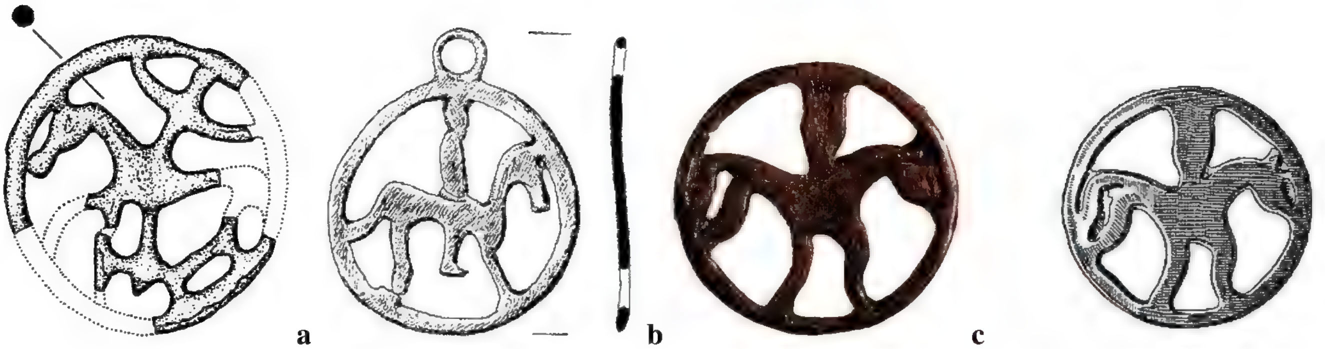

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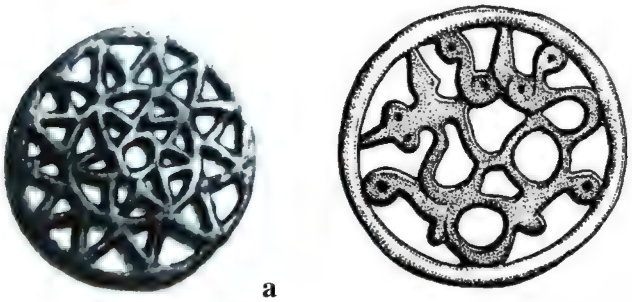
Figure 5



a b

Figure 6

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APPROACHES CONCERNING THE FORMATION OF THE MEDIEVAL COUNTY OF KRASZNA / CRASNA (11th-13th c.)

Zsolt CSÓK*

Abstract: *The research concerning the formation and development of the medieval county of Crasna/Kraszna, received very slight attention to reach concluding results. During the present incursion we try to draw up approaches on the formation and development of early counties. The chosen chronologic stages were set on two very important moments in micro-regional level and the context of the Hungarian kingdom: the first written record of the county and the fall of the Arpad - dynasty at the end of the* 13th *- beginning of the* 14th *century. After analyzing the context of early county organization, questions appear: why the valley of Barcău has the majority of the early middle age fortification? Would it be possible that this issue denotes the marchia character of the county? When we take note of the record of 1164 with all the components of the integral organization of a county, why are we not able to identify on the field the castrum of the administration unit? Could it be possible that this hidden center is at Şimleu Silvaniei? Could it be an argument the 1257 record on the domain description of Şimleu, where we can see a well developed, rich possession? The present incursion represents only one stage of the research, the clear results are to be concluded from the future researches.*
Key word: *Crasna County, castrum, Barcău, Crasna, marchia*

Rezumat: *Cercetarea formării şi dezvoltării comitatului medieval al Crasnei a avut parte de prea puţină atenţie, încât să cunoaştem pe deplin contextul naşterii unităţii administrative medievale. Pe parcursul prezentei incursiuni se încearcă o trecere în revistă a diferitelor abordări tematice a-propos de formarea comitatelor medievale timpurii. Palierul cronologic propus s-a stabilit între două momente importante atât micro-regional cât şi la nivelul Ungariei medievale, anume, prima menţionare documentară a comitatului, respectiv stingerea dinastiei Arpadiene. După analiza contextului organizării comitatelor timpurii, la nivel de regat, se nasc întrebări: de ce valea Barcăului este împânzită de mai multe fortificaţii, decât Valea Crasnei? Oare acest şir de fortificaţii oferă comitatului caracterul de marchia? Dacă în 1164 asistăm la menţionarea documentară a tuturor elementelor care compun organizarea integrală a unui comitat medieval, de ce nu s-a identificat până acum, pe teren centrul comitatului Crasna? Oare acest centru ascuns se află la Şimleu Silvaniei? Ar putea fi considerat un argument descrierea de hotar a Şimelului din 1257, unde asistăm la un domeniu foarte bogat? Prezenta incursiune reprezintă doar un punct în stadiul cercetărilor până în prezent, rezultatele clare aşteptându-se de la cercetările viitoare.*
Cuvinte cheie: *Comitatul Crasna, castrum, Barcău, Crasna, marchia*

Introduction

Kristó Gyula affirms that "The historian must write reality. He is not allowed to exclude an ethnic from a land, if it is there and he can not imagine its presence there if it is not true. He is not allowed to decide based only on national feelings, political views, subjective feelings or personal beliefs, but must rely on sources." (Kristó 2004, 9-10). The past and our situation today cannot be clearly revealed without analyzing widely the surrounding area we live in. Hungarian and Romanian historiography during the 19th and 20th century aimed to process histories of Eastern and Central Europe through the optics of national relationships, ethnic interests and the foundation of a strong, undeniable past. Lately the view towards the wider context meant not only gaining knowledge, but the change of optics as well, providing denial to provincial mentality narrowness that abundantly fed nationalistic manifestations. The scientific need of perception on wide scale concerning every topic and problem of the historical past, but mostly the eager wish to form and educate the public conscience made historians of the last decade to accept certain facts and set them on paper, in both Romanian and Hungarian historiography, proving that indeed, the history of Transylvania, although had shown lots of its secrets, still remains a full

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basket of unknown issues, hopefully not for a very long time though.
The everlasting Romanian- Hungarian ideological and historical conflict got so into the marrow of everyday life, that lost its entire stake by nowadays. Of course, this so-called competition is the result of frustrations from both sides. The time has arrived to accept every fact, whether it is – relatively - good or wrong, and to try and concentrate on building an honest, clear historiography. Moreover, the sudden high-scaled development of history's auxiliary sciences can offer the open gate to the mentioned development.

A few words on the chronologic staircase that we have chosen: regardless the "classical" theories on Transylvania's conquest by the Magyars, very particular situations are recorded around the north-western part of the province, meaning the inconclusive present stage of research. The first record of the medieval county is dated to 1090 (considered as being a fake, although re-edited in 1177), but most of the settlements begin to appear in written sources only from the beginning of the 13th century. Between these two moments, in 1164 we assist on the description of the social ambient of the county. These issues raise questions that can be answered only after a very detailed field and documentary study.

At the end of this introduction we have to emphasize certain issues on the topics that will form the subject of the present paper. First of all, the lack of written source facility can lead us into dangerous quagmires of erroneous theories and beliefs (Benkő 2001, 135). Second, as much as we try to clear up the mist of early medieval Transylvania, we can notice the rather deficient level, where archeology stands, due to the enormous amount of unpublished information, or data communicated under forms that draw doubt.
These two issues together just lengthen the path to the knowledge that could really help solving important matters concerning the history of the province we are talking about.

Hereby, we must admit, that the results and conclusions of the present paper are only a slight stage of research. Yet again, based on these results, one can try and trace the clear and main research directions.

Motivation

Kraszna/Crasna County, as one of the smallest counties in medieval Hungary received proper attention starting only from the beginning of the 20th century, by Petri Mór, who dedicated a monumental work to the county to be today, known under the name of Szilágy/Sălaj County (Petri 1901). Further on, just a few studies appeared on objectives that are set on its territory, but yet only Györffy György tried to synthesize relevant facts on the formation of the county (Györffy 1987), with more or less valuable data, gathering most of the documents that mention social and administrative elements of the medieval administration unit. It is necessary to mention also one of the latest publications (Bálint 2009), that after a tremendous archive study has gathered every medieval and modern document relevant for our topic, a work that has seen sunlight under the title of Örök Szilágy/Aeterna Sylvania.

Since the appearance of the above mentioned main studies, regional -historical and archeological-researches revealed new facts on the topic. So, the motivation to set on paper a few new data lays on the usefulness of such information, concerning county formation in medieval Transylvania, in general, but mostly throwing a short glimpse of an eye on the formation contexts and processes of Kraszna/Crasna County. Another relevant observation is made, concerning the western outskirts of the province where during the 11th century important laic and ecclesiastic establishments are set up -at the contact point between the western planes and Transylvania's mountains-, but the research results are extremely poor, particularly concerning the medieval counties of Crasna/Kraszna and Satu Mare/Szatmár (Bóna 2001, 79).

Approaches

There are still disputes concerning the origins of the counties in medieval Hungary and Transylvania, not only due to the lack of written sources dated to these periods, but also because of historians who omit taking under detailed analysis archeological data as well. To be more precise, there would be an urgent need to set the bases of a new kind of research, *sine ira et studio*.

In spite of all the disputes, Hungarian and Romanian historiography succeeded yet in aiming a few common directions, during the 20th century and even further on. In the same time, historians started accepting that the development of a medieval county has a castle as core (being one of the main common directions of research), although, the general tendencies have shown, that the starting point in this core analysis is set on the castles/fortifications mentioned by *Anonymus*, without paying attention to these military and social objective's chronological preliminaries (Bóna 1998, 18).

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Within the three volumes of History of Transylvania, also appears the same idea, of the castle as county formation core, with a few added details. The author(s) assume, that around the core, donations have been given to the Slavic milieu that lived on the territories unoccupied by the newly arrived Magyars. These donations have formed private property blocks (on the outskirts of Transylvania, around valley ends, at the feet of the mountains) that were ruled by royal grangers. Ergo, the incipient administrative organization of the province was set on the Slavic layers as well (Köpeczi et al. 1986, 289).

On the issue of castle/fortification preliminaries Györffy György has made a very broad approach. There are opinions that set the origins of the institution in Frankish-Bavarian, Slavic or Bulgarian fundaments. Others affirm, that king Saint Stephen I organized the counties without any local prerogatives. Taking in consideration the above facts, it is not certain which is the foundation layer of the administrative organization. There is only one certain fact: besides the "Avar plains", during the 9th century there are three major forces around the Hungarian Kingdom, such as the eastern Frankish Reign, Great Moravia and the outskirts of the Bulgarian dominium, but yet, we don't have the right to refer to the system used in the motherland of these three "powers" (Györffy 1977, 191). By the beginning of the 11th century, documents reveal the most important character of the county: the clear separation of the royal court property from the castle domain, the castle administration does not encompass either the properties of the king, queen or the prince's. In the same time, a document emitted by Saint Stephen in 1009, proves, that the county was a unitary territory (*quator civitates...cum...terminis et finibus* - concerning the grant of authority for the bishop of Veszprém over four castles/counties) and it's granger's (*comes*) administrative power over the inhabitants (Györffy 1977, 203). So, as we have already mentioned, the county is the king's power apparatus built around the castle. To understand the county's human resources management, we have to mention the fact, that the granger did not spend very much time on his domain, so he had several *locum tenens* figures, as follows: the military leader (*maior exercitus*), the administrator of the castle (*maior castri*), the castle judge (*curialis comes*) and the royal judge (*billogos*). Of course there were several lower ranked officials as well: *missus*, *praeco*, *custos*, *portae*, *miles*, *centurio*, *decurio*, etc. (Györffy 1977, 204)

There is also a very interesting approach drawn up by the same Györffy György, when speaking of the frontier counties (*marchia*). When speaking of the medieval county of Crasna/Kraszna, there are certain issues linked to this administrative unit type that will represent a matter of discussion in the followings. *Marchia*, as frontier-county makes its appearance during the 11th century, having a very clear role. Its leader was the frontier granger (*marchio* or *comes confinii*). Specialized military units (*sagittarius* and *speculator*) were detached to these fortifications / lines of defense. (Györffy 1977, 208)

Reviewing the Hungarian county system, it is quite visible that the majority of the administration units and castles, were domain districts of the 10th century so-called "nobility", districts where they have imposed their power through military accompaniment. The same author, after amassing the available information draws the conclusion, that the roots of the medieval county organization can be set on two major lines: first, administration organized through local preliminaries, second, Saint Stephen's improvements by western influence. (Györffy 1977, 209-210)

Crasson civitate*

Set in the north-western part of Transylvania (Fig. 1a), the medieval county of Crasna/Kraszna is one of the smallest counties (territorially speaking) in medieval Hungary. It is actually set on the western quarter of today's Sălaj County (Fig. 1b).

Geography of the medieval county

There are certain, very important geographical elements in the county and its vicinity, that eased the process of habitation development, strategic organization and economic growth during the middle ages as well. First of all, we have to mention the Meseş-gate phenomenon (*Porta Mezesina*), as the easiest passing point between the Transylvanian Plateau and Pannonia. Three hydrographic basins (the valleys of Crasna/Kraszna, Barcău/Berettyó and Zalău-Zilah) helped also the formation of road infrastructure, three major relief elements, that actually constitute the transition point between the above-mentioned large geographic units. In fact, the core of the county seems to reveal itself as being set in the Valley of Barcău/Berettyó River.

* *Colomanvs (episco)pus princeps fuit in Crasson civitate* (Györffy 1987, 515)

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Short historical review

We shall crayon a few important data revealed by written sources. Most of the data is revealed through domain descriptions, but also privilege donations for local men of the king. Such a privilege request is traced in the first written record dated somewhere around 1090-1093 (Bálint 2009, 29). We are witnesses of the moment, when *Mesta*, receives legal status on *Crasson civitate* from king Könyves Kálmán, but he refuses this privilege and asks the king to spear him from paying as tax the tenth of his income. In this same record we find out, that *Mesta* was the owner of the "bison field"[†] and the plains around *Boyza*. The request was drawn, towards the king, by *Nepcor* as well, who have asked not to pay taxes on his fields in *Gemelchen* and not enrolling in the army nor by himself, neither by his nephews. Actually the first domain description of the county has been revealed, but also we get familiarized by the *Nepcor-Mesta* kindred. (Fig. 2a)

After not even a century, during 1164 there is another document emitted, that mentions the followings: *Janus c. de Crazna; Tupa cur. c. de Karasna; iud-bus Gábrielé biloto et Sebecuriali c-e de Carasna; pri-o Cuca; iudice Agya; castrenses de Carasna de v. Ban; Tumpa centurione, ... iud-e Tupa curiali c-e de Carasna; iud-e Compolto a-diac-o de Carazna; iud-e Tupa curiali c-e et Ruben biloto de Crazna; ioub-es castri Karaznay, scil. Ruben maior exercitus, Echilleus varnog, Euzud et Pinna centuriones et Paradan et cives eiusdem castri, scil. Byuncy, Vcyk, Micus* (Györffy 1987, 516). The above mentioned notabilities clearly describe a mature county structure, so we can affirm, that before the Tartar Invasion, the organizational structure of the county is almost complete. So far, the *castrum* or *civitas* of *Crazna*, has not been yet identified on the field. The majority of the preoccupied researchers have linked the existence of the fortification remains to the homonymous village. Actually we have in front of us two major lines in starting to find this mysterious county center. One of them is on the shoulders of top-names, the other one can be observed by our opinion in the masses of fortifications in the county that can be dated in the late 11th century. Let us return to this issue, further on in the present paper.

There are two major moments in the history of the county. 1213 and 1251/57 represent moments when we are able to view the complete image of the county and its belonging domains. Let us have a short review of the records concerning the county, giving their original, Latin form:

1090 - *terra Bozia, terra Gemelchen, Crasson;*
1164 - *Crazna;*
1208 - *terra Deudas, villa Yppu*;
1213 - *villa Botocun, villa Ban, villa Dirsig, possessio Hydveg, terra Coznis, villa Kechel, terra Kyrys, villa Kouachi, terra Nesmer, terra Nogfalw;*
1214 - *villa Bogus, villa Pechey, villa Saicu;*
1217 - *Iloswa, possessio Lomperth;*
1219 - *terra Cesar, terra Matha, terra Polyaspotok;*
1249 - *terra Wolko, terra Zwan;*
1251 - *possessio Wathasomlyowa;*
1257 - *terra Bylgoz, terra Chechy, terra Ghywrktheleke, villa Huruat, villa Kourogh, villa Lagud, villa Maiadeigen/Maiade, terra Mynoraw, terra Perechen, terra Rathon, terra Sczeck, terra Szeek, terra Wylak, terra Wyduna , terra Worsolch;*

Of course this situation is overthrown by the middle of the 13th century due to the event mentioned above, but if we take a closer look at the end of the above list we have to notice that all the settlements mentioned in 1251/57 are part of the domain of *Wathasomlyowa* (Szilágysomlyó/Şimleu Silvaniei). (Fig. 2b)

In 1249, due to unknown reasons, the center of the county is set to *Wolko* (Subcetate/Váralja). It is certain, that king Béla IV donates the domain of *Wolko* to Paul of Geregye kindred, as a gift, for his services during the Tartar Invasion (Györffy 1987, 522)

Fortifications

There is another aspect that we have to mention. Given the supposed territory of the county we have to take a look at the fortifications that are dated or can be dated in the 11th -12th centuries. In fact we can observe a very strange situation. There are about five fortifications on the territory of the county. Strange, that it may seem, four of these, are set on the valley of Barcău/Berettyó River: (Marca/Márkaszék (Dumitraşcu, Lucăcel 1974), Subcetate/Váralja, Tusa/Tuszatelke (Băcueţ-Crişan 2003), Halmăşd/Halmasd - uncertain dating (Cosma 2000)) and one above the valley of Crasna/Kraszna at Szilágysomlyó/Şimleu Silvaniei (Pop 1991; Pop, Csók 2003). The common feature in all five cases is their position on dominant hill-tops, over the exit of the river from its gorge (except Halmăşd/Halmasd, that could be interpreted as surveying the saddle-road that passes

[†] *planities Bubalorum*

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towards the hydrologic basin of the Criş River), but also, they are set on the southern border of the medieval county. This assumption raises the question: would it be possible that these fortifications are actually part of the incipient character of the medieval county as *marchia*? If we analyze also the geographical names of this region we also observe an interesting fact: all along the southern and western borders of the county we can find top-names that denote the frontier of the newly built administration unit (Sălăgean 2005). (Fig. 3)

The fortification at Szilágysomlyó/Şimleu Silvaniei, on the hill-top above the Crasna/Kraszna valley has all the strategic features to survey the passing-point below it. The early phases of the fortification are very difficult to trace, due to the 14th century interventions, when the first stone fortress is built. The information given by the excavations that have been made here will give us concluding answers and will form the subject of a future study. It is very obvious, that the main role of this objective was the supervision of the salt road that passed in the valley

Questions

Given the short incursion in the micro-regional history of the medieval county, instead of conclusions there are a few questions that have been raised. At the present stage of research these questions are very difficult to answer, mostly those concerning the beginnings of the administrative unit. The main interrogation comes from the direction of medieval status evolution, domains, properties. As we have already mentioned, the first record made during the end of the 11th century is talking about a kindred that had properties around the middle course of Barcău/Berettyó River. What if the *Nepcor-Mesta* kindred is set here by the king, as administrators of the new frontier set during the process of administrative organization of north-western Transylvania? What if the fortifications on the river, are military headquarters of the chieftains of these two kindreds? One argument could lay in the tumultuous presence of fortifications on the southern outskirts of the county to be.

It is a strange fact, indeed, that at the beginning of the 12th century, we have a very clear social structure, but not an identified county centre. If we lay upon the theory, that the county centre received its name by the river that passes through the county, moreover that it had the clear aim to protect the salt route, the county center shouldn't be elsewhere than at Szilágysomlyó/Şimleu Silvaniei. An argument that could sustain this theory would be the large property that *Wathasomlyowa* had at the middle of the 13th century. One small detail that overturns the situation is the setting of the county centre to *Wolko* in 1249.

All these questions will receive an answer that will be given by the archeological field and systematic researches of the future.

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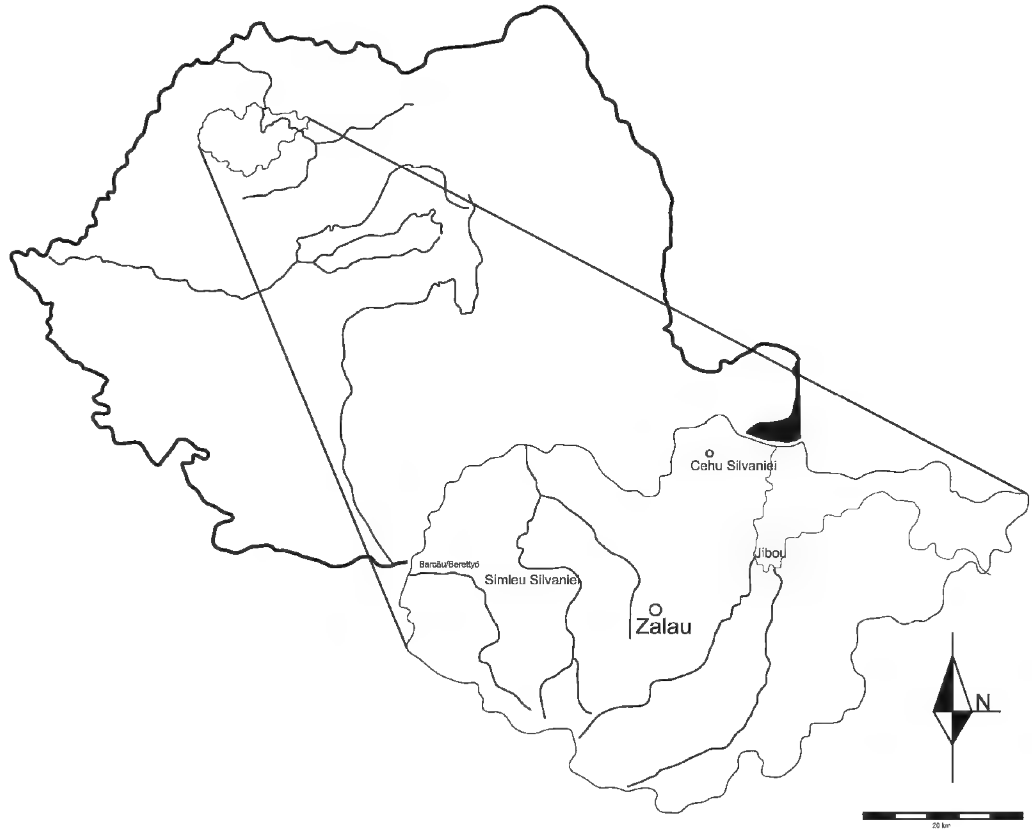

Fig. 1a

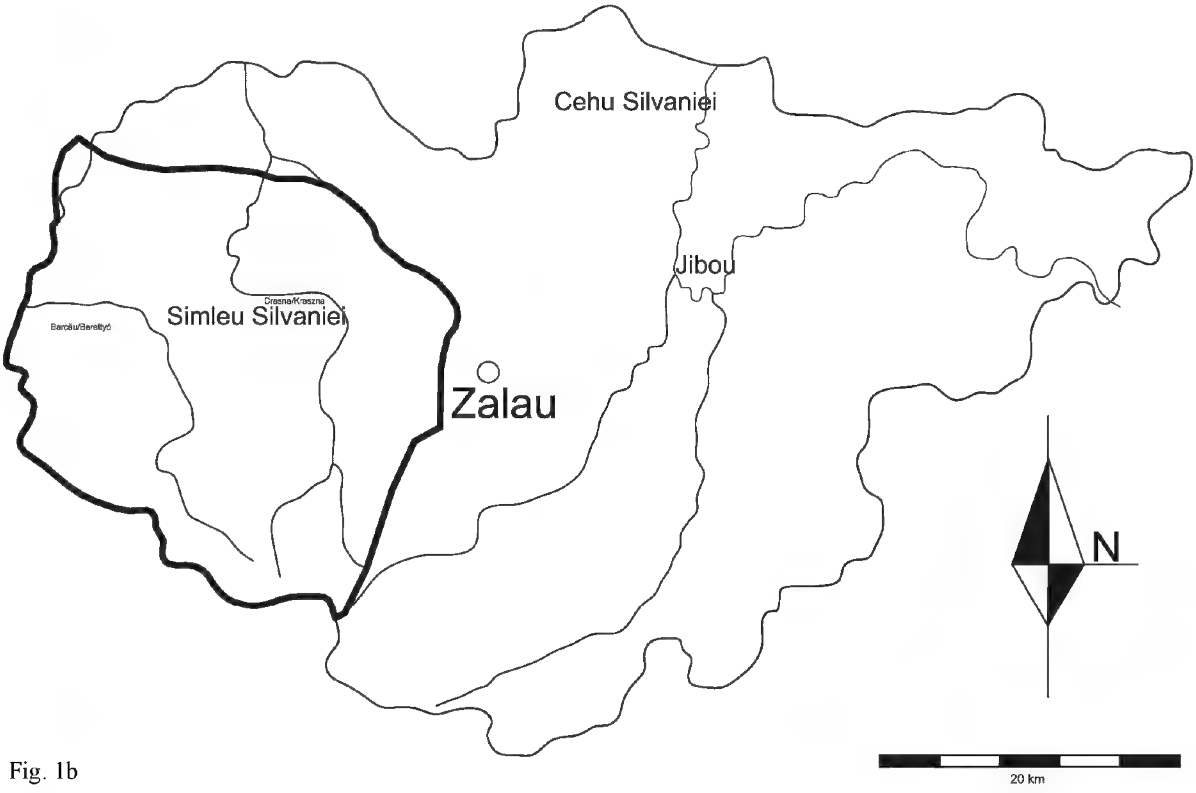

Fig. 1b

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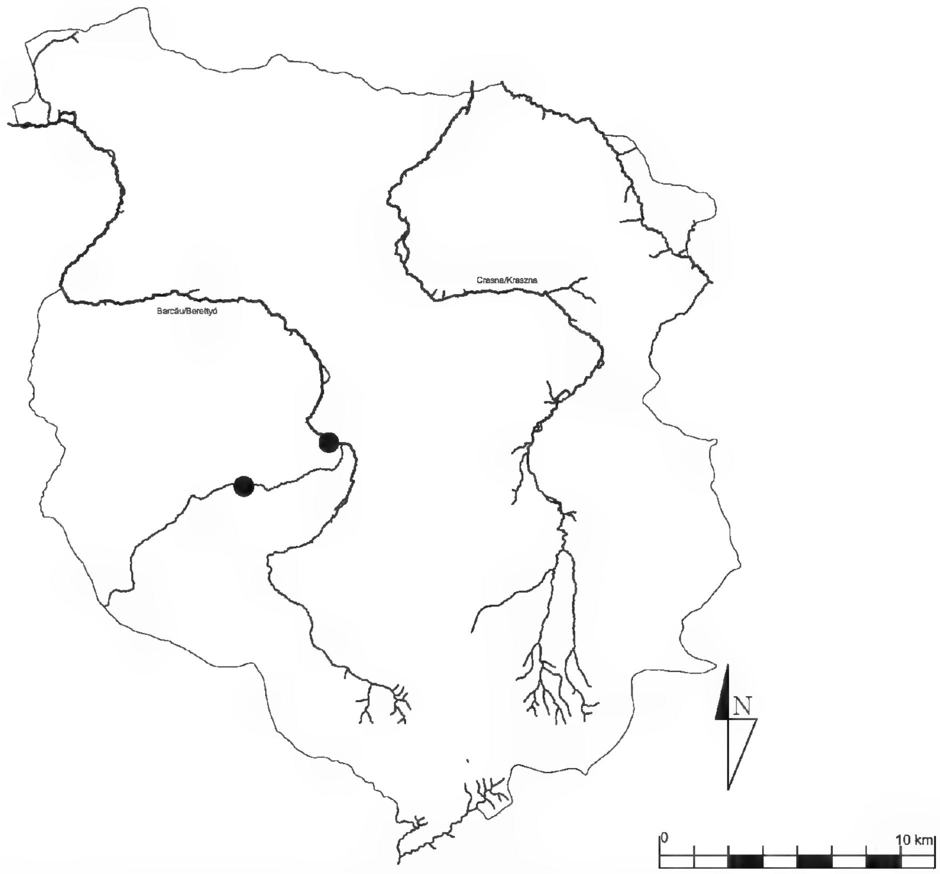

Fig. 2a

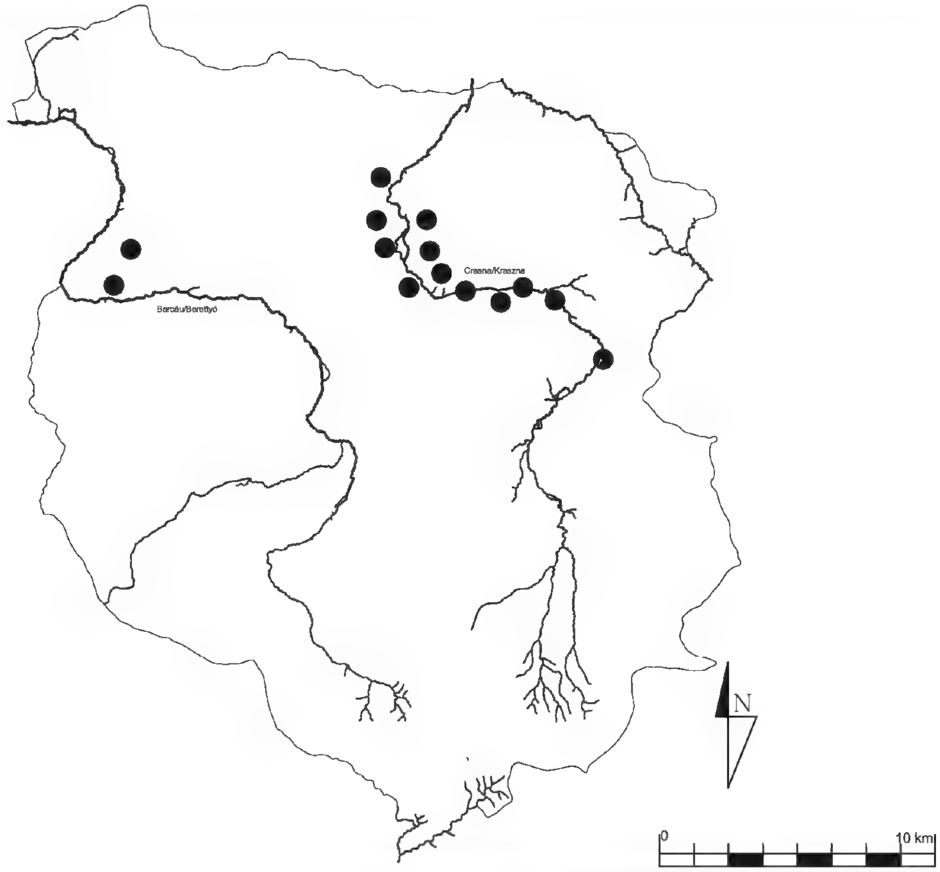

Fig. 2b

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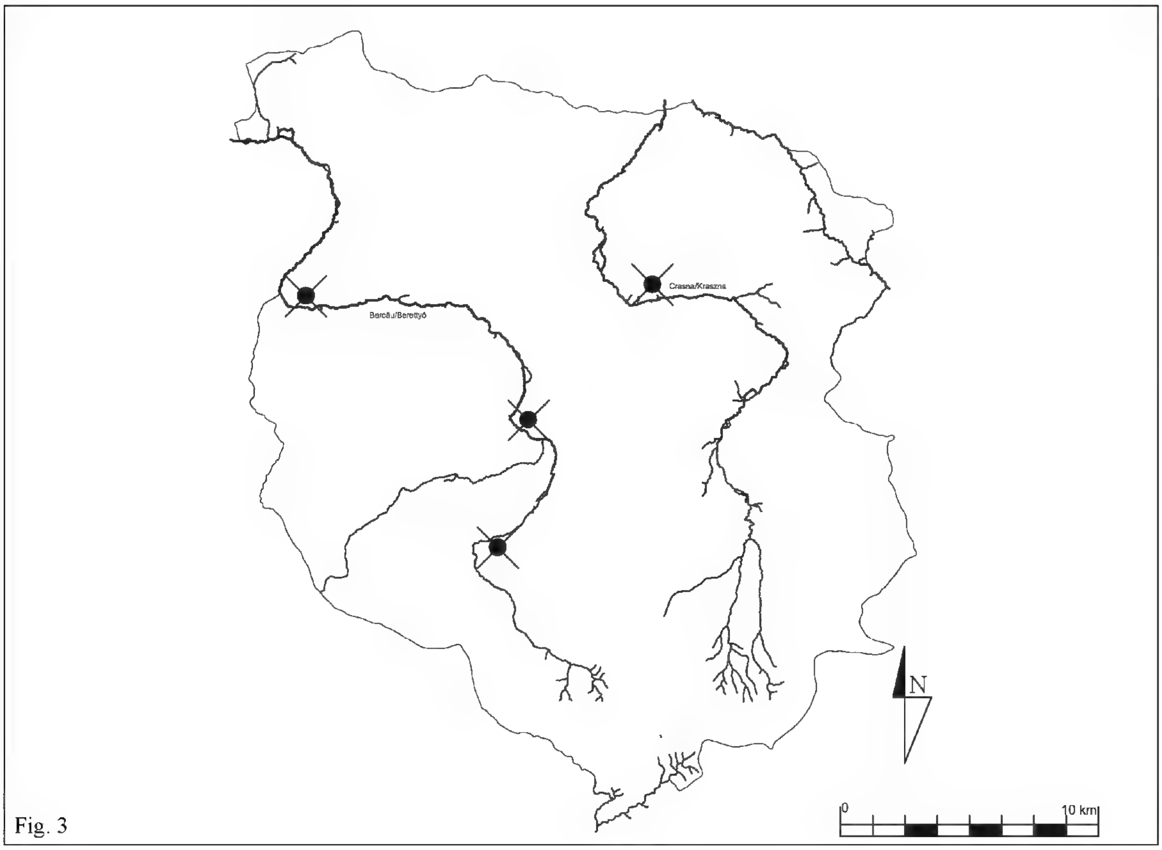

Fig. 3

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PIPE SMOKING ON HORSEBACK. NEW SOURCES ON THE HISTORY OF TOBACCO SMOKING IN EARLY MODERN TRANSYLVANIA

Ana-Maria GRUIA*

Abstract: *The paper discusses some of the earliest depictions of smokers, on a small series of unique stove tiles from Transylvania, in the context of the habit's spread and reception during the seventeenth century. Three tiles sharing this iconography, but produced with different molds, were found in Cluj-Napoca and Sibiu. In attempting to identify their possible early modern reception, the article takes into consideration a similar depiction on a contemporary Turkish miniature. The author also takes into consideration playing cards as possible sources of inspiration for this unique stove tile iconography.*
Keywords: *tobacco smoking, stove tiles, iconography, seventeenth century, Transylvania.*

Rezumat:*Articolul discută unele dintre cele mai timpurii reprezentări de fumători, pe o serie unică de cahle din Transilvania, în contextul răspândirii şi receptării noului obicei în secolul al XVII-lea. Trei cahle cu această iconografie, dar imprimate în tipare diferite, au fost descoperite în Cluj-Napoca şi Sibiu. În analizarea posibilei lor interpretări în epocă, articolul ia în considerare o reprezentare similară dintr-o miniatură turcească contemporană. Este sugerată de asemenea o posibilă sursă de inspiraţie pentru acest tip de imagine pe cahle, prin apropierea iconografiei lor de cea a cărţilor de joc.*
Cuvinte cheie: *fumat, cahle, iconografie, secolul al XVII-lea, Transilvania.*

The rich stove tile collection of the National History Museum of Transylvania in Cluj-Napoca includes one previously unpublished tile decorated with an unusual depiction: a man smoking a large stub-stemmed pipe while his horse is galloping (Fig. 1). The image suggests that the pipe almost equals in size the man's head, while his hand is as long as the pipe's stem. The male character, wearing a long bonnet, a mantle, and a sword is depicted galloping towards the left on the upper half of the tile, holding the pipe with his right hand and the reigns with his left. He is flanked by two identical decorative motifs, each consisting of a heart-shaped element that supports a vegetal stem with symmetrical leafs, ending in a tulip flower and an acorn branch. The lower part of the image is purely decorative, consisting of five rows of lozenges. Another element can be seen in the image: a bird (or maybe a flower with three petals) placed under the horse's front hoofs.

The unglazed stove tile under discussion, measuring 19 x 26 cm, is part of the old tile collection, its inventory number faded away, and its description not to be found in old museum registers. The item also does not feature in the main catalogue of stove tiles from Transylvania (Marcu Istrate 2004); the author probably believed the tile later than 1700, the upper chronological limit of her research, though the item's style and decorative motifs indicate its production sometime during the seventeenth century. The drawing of a similar stove tile was published deprived of contextual data in a previous book on stove tiles from Transylvania (Klusch 1999, 40, fig. 57) and reproduced again, as simple illustration, in a recent catalogue focusing on pottery in the same province (Roşca, Klusch 2010, 13) (Fig. 2). Klusch does mention the source of this drawing, i.e. a mid twentieth century general study of folk art in Europe (Bossert 1941, 35, Abb. 15).[1] Bossert is the only author to provide some details on this stove tile: the fact that it was unglazed, discovered in Sibiu, and that it can be dated to the seventeenth-century. The present location of the tile is unknown, and it is not included in the catalogue presenting the stove tile collection of the ASTRA Museum (Roşca 2006). The drawing shows a stove tile very similar to the one in Cluj; nevertheless, there are some

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[1] I thank my colleague Rada Varga for the help in gaining access to this study.

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differences, indicating the fact that they were pressed in different molds: the tile in Sibiu includes extra details (such as the brackets above each tulip and the dots inside each lozenge in the lower decorative border), while it omits others (such as the smoke coming out of the pipe). Naturally, such observations start from the assumption that the published drawing accurately depicts the now missing stove tile.

A recent archaeological rescue excavation in Cluj-Napoca has led to the discovery of another tile fragment decorated with the same image of a pipe smoker. The fragment was found in the Hungarian suburb of the Early Modern city together with other tile fragments and common pottery dated to the seventeenth-eighteenth century.[2] The item under discussion is the top left corner of an unglazed stove tile and it measures 11 x 12 cm. This previously unpublished object is also preserved in the collection of the National History Museum of Transylvania. From the original decoration one can still see part of the flanking tulip and stem, the acorn springing from the flower, the rider's face and hand holding the pipe (Fig. 3). Though partially preserved, the details seem to indicate that this fragment was created in the same mold as the first tile from Cluj under discussion, though this can only be confirmed by detailed measuring and after thoroughly cleaning both surfaces.

This small group of tiles depicting smokers is unique for seventeenth-century tile-using Europe. The three items from Transylvania lack analogies elsewhere and, as further evidence suggests, at least some of them were produced in Cluj during the seventeenth-century. The pottery lot discovered in secondary position, together with the smoking rider tile fragment, also included an item decorated with oriental tulips (Fig. 4). This tile fragment is also unglazed, decorated with mica flakes, but what is relevant here is its iconography, i.e. the decorative, flat manner in rendering tulips, typical to oriental minor arts. Tulip flowers were very popular decorative motifs, and there are two main variants: in Western art, the flowers were rendered according to nature, with detailed contours and nuanced colors, while Oriental art favored simpler, stylized depictions, with three or more petals placed in shape of a lyre. The oriental variant was frequently employed in seventeenth-century Transylvania, especially on embroideries (Cipăianu 1978, 367-379; Gruia 2006, 16), but also on stove tiles. Besides oriental tulips featuring as secondary decorative elements on tiles (including those with smoking riders, showing tulips starting from heart-shaped motifs), one special group depicts tulips as main decorative element: numerous such tiles are attested in the area of Cluj-Napoca (Marcu Istrate 2004, 110-111), some including inscriptions indicating their production during the seventeenth century. One tile from the collection of the National History Museum of Transylvania, discovered in the city center, includes the name of the potter „Pap Pal Faza" (Fazekas meaning potter in Hungarian), and the beginning of a year "16.." (Marcu Istrate 2004, 190, cat. 13) (Fig. 5).

These analogies indicate the fact that tiles showing pipe smokers on horseback flanked by oriental tulips were produced in Cluj sometime during the seventeenth-century. They are nevertheless different in details from the tile drawing published from Sibiu, thus indicating two possible production centers for this unique tile image in Transylvania. But since no technical data is available on the tile from Sibiu and its present location unknown, the issue might only be settled by further research.

How might one explain such a rare stove tile depiction? Was it perceived as a curiosity and the iconographical adaptation of stove tiles to a new and fast-spreading habit? Or was it deemed interesting in the context of seventeenth-century debates and bans on smoking and can be interpreted as a visual condemnation? In order to approach such issues, one must refer to the introduction and reception of smoking in Transylvania in the end of the sixteenth and the seventeenth century.

Preserved written sources refer to Turkish envoys and diplomatic gifts as mediating the introduction of tobacco smoking in the newly created semi-autonomous principality (Haider 2000, 20-24, Gruia 2013). The stub-stemmed type of all pipes archaeologically discovered so far in Transylvania and dated to the early modern period support this direction of cultural contact (Haider 2000, 22). It is well known that according to the type of smoking pipes used, Europe can be divided in two large areas, the Western part of the continent preferring one-piece pipes, while the eastern part opting for two or three-piece pipes (Robinson 1985, Cessford 2011). The two traditions, probably transmitted separately from America, met along the western borders of the Ottoman Empire. Present-day Transylvania, Hungary, and

[2] Present-day spot "Fabrica Someşul". I thank my colleague Cristian Dima, the archaeologist in charge with the excavation, for sharing this unpublished material.

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Slovakia were part of this contact area, but most pipes there were Turkish imports until around 1960 (Haider 2000, 22).

Archaeological discoveries of this period, mainly from urban contexts, are all two-piece, oriental pipes. Several collections have been published or at least mentioned in the existing literature, such as pipes found in the town hall of Sibiu (Beşliu 2006, 85), the princely palace in Vinţu de Jos,[3] near a Protestant church in Cluj-Napoca[4] and the city center (Pupeză 2011, 226, 237), the fortification and civilian settlement in Oradea (Marta 2002, 131-133, 186-187), where a pipe workshop was also archaeologically attested before the Turkish conquest of 1660 (Emődi 1998, 127-133), as stray finds in the town of Reghin (Gruia 2012), around the princely palace in Alba Iulia (Marcu Istrate 2009, 62), and somewhere in Geoagiu-Băi (Batariuc, Pescaru 1995-1996, 391). Many more such pipes await publication in museum and private collections in Transylvania. As for the written sources of that era, Transylvania followed the general European trend, in that the seventeenth century was the golden age of pipe smoking, but there where also official prohibitions, issued by the princes, the Diet, or city councils, arguing that the new plant was useless, harmful, and a fire hazard (Gruia 2013). Economical reasons led to an attempt to gain strict official control of tobacco and pipe commerce in Transylvania. These items mainly came from the Ottoman areas through Walachia.[5] It may also be argued that fines applied to smokers were also a welcome addition to the treasury, reflecting pre-cameralist principles as elsewhere in Central Europe (Mehler 2009).

The three stove tiles depicting smokers, created with different molds and discovered in two locations of Transylvania, in Cluj and Sibiu, thus illustrating the relative popularity of the motif and the habit itself, also depict stub-stemmed pipes with long stems. The base of the bowl is wide on these depictions, reflecting the era's trend in producing clay pipes with bowls wider on the lower part in order to protect the smoker's hand against too elevated a temperature, and the ring designed to fit a long stem at a right angle (Tomka 2000, 31). Still, the size of these depicted pipes, as large as the rider's head, must be an artistic exaggeration. During the first century of smoking, pipe bowls were rather small, reflecting the elevated price of tobacco.

The evidence of tiles is relevant for the fact that the habit was popular or interesting enough to be depicted on home interior objects such as stove tiles and that smoking was at that time associated with the military. The latter conclusion is based on the rider's costume, with sword, mantle, and a head dress reminding of Turkish Janissaries. The specific headdress of such soldiers consisted of a metal flat ring (*börk*) and a long piece of wool hanging from it on their back (*yatirtma*), reminding of Dervish Hajji Bektash's sleeve when we blessed them in the thirteenth century, by placing his hand over their heads (Sadeddin 2001, 18). It is possible that the Turkish source of tobacco smoking in Transylvania is underlined by such depictions on stove tiles, but further studies of seventeenth-century costume and dress in the area must confirm this hypothesis.

Another observation is that the stove tile iconography under question resembles playing card patterns and might have been inspired by such sources of decoration. The tulips flanking the rider make one think of cards developed in the German environment. The four suites used on German playing cards printed since the middle of the fifteenth century were bells, acorn, red (hearts), and green (leafs). The stove tiles with smoking riders depict three of these elements: hearts, acorn, and leafs, and the general symmetrical composition and decorative character can also be mentioned among their similarities. Though no reference could be found on playing cards used in Transylvania during the seventeenth century, one contemporary example from Augsburg, depicting various occupations, does make the connection between smoking and card suites, by showing a prune-picker smoking a (Western-type) pipe (Fig. 6). Further research might generate more in-depth analyses on the similarities between stove tile and playing card iconography, but the hypothesis of the latter used as sources of inspiration for the first is supported by existing examples of engravings and pattern books employed by potter masters in the creation of decorative ceramics, including stove tiles.

It is perhaps useful to take into consideration here as analogy to the image on tiles a Turkish miniature of the seventeenth century that illustrates three male riders, one smoking a pipe

[3] http://www.cimec.ro/Arheologie/vintu_de_jos/Vintu_rom/Ceramica.htm, in the collection of the National History Museum of Transylvania, unpublished.
[4] Wooden church near the present-day two-tower church on Calea Mănăştur (Argeşului St.), ongoing archaeological investigation, several examples in Gruia 2013. I thank my colleague Eugenia Beu-Dachin for sharing some of this unpublished material.
[5] I thank Mária Pakucs for her insight on tobacco commerce in the light of commercial registers of Sibiu.

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and his companions commenting upon it (Fig. 7). The three men, dressed in oriental costumes, are shown riding together (towards the left) in a hilly landscape; the first seems to enjoy his long-stemmed pipe, smoke coming out both from the pipe's bowl and the man's mouth. His two companions are pointing towards him and vividly talking among themselves, apparently smiling. The miniature can be interpreted in the context of the debates that smoking triggered in the Ottoman Empire, sometimes leading to violence in the streets. Strong debates on the legality and morality of tobacco smoking arose soon after the introduction of the habit in the empire in the end of the sixteenth century (Grehan 2006). The miniature does not show a confrontation, but neither does it illustrate a full acceptance of smoking. The practice of the new habit certainly raised interest and triggered various reactions, even if limited to pointing it out and making fun, as the two Turks in the image seem to be doing.

The stove tile from Cluj might have been read in a similar manner. Even more, due to the rider's costume and especially headgear, he might be a Janissary, indicating that Transylvanians who chose to decorate their interiors with stoves bearing such images were interested in the new habit, recognizing its Ottoman origin, and maybe appreciating the fact that pipe-smoking could be practiced anywhere. Even in the case of pipes with long stems, they were usually made of several segments and could be easily carried and assembled (Grehan 2006, 1356), thus making horseback smoking a pleasurable pastime while traveling. It may be that those who watched the tiles under discussion reacted just like the Turks in the miniature – commenting upon the unusual representation, discussing their own for or against smoking beliefs, or just enjoying an unusual, but very up-to-date image.

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LIST OF ILLUSTRATION/LISTA ILUSTRAŢIILOR

Figure 1. Seventeenth-century stove tile depicting a rider smoking a pipe, preserved in the collection of the National History Museum of Transylvania in Cluj-Napoca, photo by the author.

Cahlă decorată cu imaginea unui călăreţ fumând din pipă, secolul al XVII-lea, în colecţia Muzeului Naţional de Istorie a Transilvaniei din Cluj-Napoca, fotografia autorului.

Figure 2. Drawing of a seventeenth-century stove tile from Sibiu, showing a pipe-smoking rider. Taken from Klusch 1999, 40, fig. 57.

Desen după o cahlă de secol XVII din Sibiu decorată cu imaginea unui călăreţ care fumează din pipă, *apud* Klusch 1999, 40, fig. 57.

Figure 3. Stove tile fragment with pipe smoker, discovered in Cluj-Napoca, preserved in the collection of the National History Museum of Transylvania, photo by the author.

Fragment de cahlă cu fumător din pipă, descoperit în Cluj-Napoca, păstrat în colecţia Muzeului Naţional de Istorie a Transilvaniei, fotografia autorului.

Figure 4. Tile fragment decorated with oriental tulips, discovered in Cluj-Napoca, preserved in the collection of the National History Museum of Transylvania, photo by the author.

Fragment de cahlă cu lalele orientale, descoperit în Cluj-Napoca, păstrat în colecţia Muzeului Naţional de Istorie a Transilvaniei, fotografia autorului.

Figure 5. Seventeenth-century stove tile and tile fragment from the area of Cluj-Napoca, decorated with oriental tulips starting from heart-shaped motifs. Stove tile from the collection of the National History Museum of Transylvania, photo by the author, drawing of tile fragment with inscription taken from Marcu Istrate 2004, 360, fig. 13a.

Cahlă şi fragment de cahlă de secol XVII din zona Clujului, decorate cu lalele orientale pornind din motive cordiforme. Cahlă din colecţia Muzeului Naţional de Istorie a Transilvaniei, fotografia autorului, desen după fragment de cahlă cu inscripţie, *apud* Marcu Istrate 2004, 360, fig. 13a.

Figure 6. Playing card produced by Jeremias Wolff in Augsburg in 1690, depicting a prune-picker smoking a long Western pipe. Taken from http://a.trionfi.eu/WWPCM/decks03/d01998/d01998d6.jpg, accessed 15.06.2012.

Carte de joc produsă de Jeremias Wolff la Augsburg în 1690, decorată cu imaginea unui culegător de prune care fumează dintr-o pipă lungă de tip occidental. Imagine preluată de la http://a.trionfi.eu/WWPCM/decks03/d01998/d01998d6.jpg, accesată 15.06.2012.

Figure 7. Seventeenth-century Turkish miniature depicting three riders, one smoking a pipe and the other two commenting upon it. Taken from Robinson 1985, plate 34.

Miniatură turcească de secol XVII ilustrând trei călăreţi, unul fumând din pipă, iar ceilalţi discutând despre acest lucru. *Apud* Robinson 1985, planşa 34.

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Fig. 1

Fig. 2.

Fig. 3.

Fig. 4.

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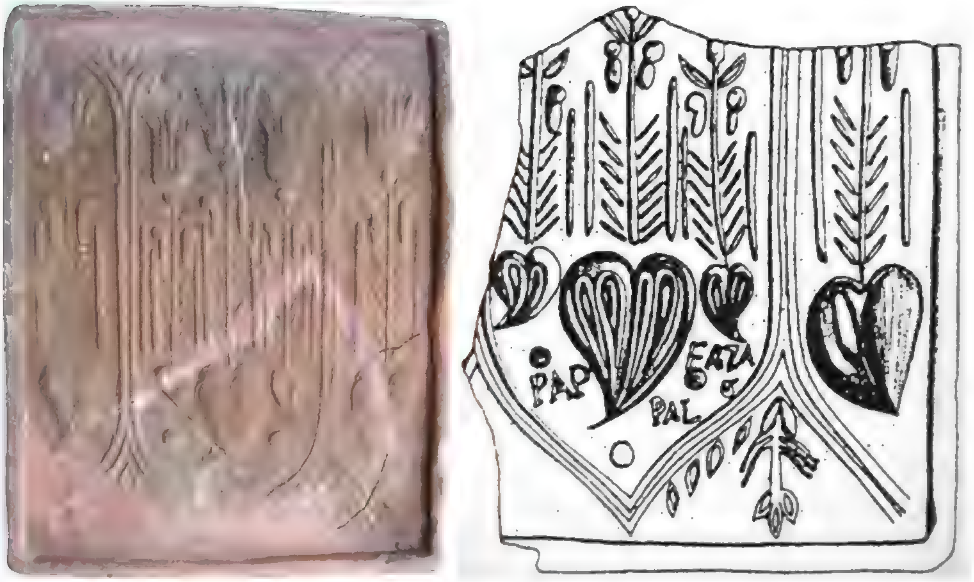

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UPDATES ABOUT THE DEMOLISHED CHURCH FROM CITFALĂU (HU. CSITTFALVA) WITH GEOPHYSICAL MAPPING

Keve LÁSZLÓ*
András PÉNTEK**
László LENKEY***

Abstract *At the site of the church from Citfalău, destroyed in the seventeenth century, non-destructive surveys were conducted in 2010. The purpose of these measurements were first of all the precise delimitations of the church, and secondly the acquiring of new data, which did not come to light during the archaeological excavations from the past century. The geophysical surveys showed that the church had one tower, which was not identified during the test excavations from 1952; these new surveys can offer the basis for new archaeological excavations.*
Keywords *Citfalău, medieval church, geomagnetic survey, geoelectric survey*

Rezumat *În anul 2010, pe locul fostei biserici de la Citfalău, biserică distrusă şi dispărută în secolul XVII, au fost realizate prospecţii non evazive. Scopul principal a fost identificarea şi delimitarea exactă a bisericii şi obţinerea eventuală a unor informaţii noi, care n-au ieşit la iveală cu ocazia efectuării cercetărilor arheologice din secolul trecut. Prospecţiile geofizice de aici au demonstrat că biserica avea un turn, nedescoperit prin sondajele din 1952. Noile măsurători efectuate pot reprezenta un punct de plecare pentru reluarea cercetărilor arheologice.*
Cuvintele cheie *Citfalău, biserică medievală, prospecţii geomagnetice, prospecţii geoelectrice*

Introduction

The disappeared village of Citfalău (Hu. Csittfalva) is situated at a distance of 10 km from Târgu Mureş (Hu. Marosvásárhely) towards SW between Moreşti (Hu. Malomfalva) and Sântioana de Mureş (Hu. Csittszentivány). In the early Árpád agie the village pertained to the county of Turda and later to the seat of Mureş (Fig. 1). Archaeological excavations revealed the foundations of a village church of longitudinal arrangement, which consisted of a rectangular nave and to the east, a narrower semicircular apse.

The dating of the barely researched church, based on its ground plan, was difficult to define. The excavation leader defined the church as Gothic in style and dated it to the thirteenth century until the fourteenth century (Horedt 1953, 295; Horedt 1957, 308; Horedt 1958, 57; Horedt 1979, 66; Horedt 1984, 54).

Based on its ground plan some of the art historians questioned the Gothic nature of the church (Vătăşianu 1959, 78); among archaeologists, István Bóna, taking into consideration the modest excavations, carefully dated it to the Angevin period (Bóna 1985, 230). Art historian, Géza Entz also dated the church from Citfalău to the thirteenth century (Entz 1994, 30). Because the foundation of the church cut earlier graves all scholars agreed that probably an earlier church existed. This hypothesis could be supported only by the use of the cemetery in the beginning of the twelfth century even if archaeological excavations could not fully attest this.

Written Sources

The first mentioning of Citfalău comes from the 25 denar census of Mureş seat from 1567, where it appears in the form of *Chijt falwa* with 1 gate (SzOkl., II, 218). In the census of Giorgio Basta from 1603 is mentioned as a destroyed village (ÚjSzOkl., IV, 153). In the census of Gábor Bethlen figures as a separate village (ÚjSzOkl., IV, 197, 207), but its name does not appear in the military census of György Rákóczy I from 1635. The site of its church is indicated by the hill with the name *Templom dombja* (Orbán 1870, IV,

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218), in Romanian *La biserici* (Horedt 1953, 293), which means *the hill of the church.* The bell from the disappeared village of Citfalău is enlisted in a list of ecclesiastical objects from 1643 from Sântioana de Mureş (Kelemen 1977, 179). The church from Citfalău, which was a common property of a number of villages, after the destruction of the village, was still standing. In 1687, the community from Citfalău wanted to restore the church, which was already in a bad condition. For the restoration they asked for help from the patron-court from Moreşti, from the owner Zsuzsanna Nemes, but because of the absence of the owner they did not receive help (Benkő 1869, 316; Orbán 1870, IV, 218–219; Kelemen 1977, 179; Entz 1994, 30). Thus, the community from Sântioana de Mureş received the permission from the synod of Târgu Mureş that they take out from the ground and use the bell from the church of Citfalău in the beginning of November, in 1688 (Kelemen 1977, 179). The already ruined church from Citfalău in lack of restoration was totally destroyed, at the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century. Balázs Orbán in 1870 mentioned the place called *Templom dombja* as land used for agriculture, where only wall remains and brick fragments indicated the place of the former church (Orbán 1870, 218).

A summary of the previous archaeological excavations

In the framework of the excavations that took place at Moreşti, led by Kurt Horedt between 1951 and 1955, test sections were made also at the site of Citfalău (Fig. 2). The aim of the excavations was to identify the place of Citfalău mentioned in the written sources until the seventeenth century. For this purpose the best place was supplied by the hill called *Templom dombja*.

In 1952, with the XXXI test section they managed to find the church (Fig. 3) and to excavate 24 graves, which belonged to the cemetery that surrounded the church. The foundations of the walls of the church were missing in the excavated area but the wall traces were filled with stone and wall fragments, thus, the path of the walls could be reconstructed. For the church bricks of 4–5 x 15 x 17 cm were used, which can probably be linked to a later construction phase. The foundation of the church was at – 1,10 m depth, and the thickness of the walls was 1 m. From the cemetery surrounding the church (with a semicircular apse and one nave) E-W oriented graves were identified with bronze hairpins and S ended hair rings. A coin from Béla II (1131–1141) was found in the filling layer, which probably originated from a disturbed grave, and dated the use of cemetery starting from the twelfth century (Horedt 1953, 293–296).

The excavations from 1954 concentrated on the cemetery and on the identification of the disappeared village. Towards the north-east from the church, parallel with the road coming from Moreşti to Sântioana de Mureş a 20 m long test section was excavated; in its western part graves were found at a distance of 35 m from the church. With the widening of the section towards the west, on a surface of 8 x 8 m 31 graves were identified. The graves lay at a depth of 0,30 – 0,80 m often disturbing and cutting each other. In the south-western corner of the surface a coin from István II (1114–1131) in secondary position was found, which strengthened the early twelfth century use of the cemetery (Horedt 1955, 651–653). Other eleven sections were opened further from the church but the remains of the disappeared village were not found. To 200 m to the east of the church on an 11 x 30 m surface the remains of an eleventh and twelfth century house dug into the ground were excavated, which probably was part of the early settlement. The second excavation campaign showed that more burial horizons existed, starting from the twelfth until the seventeenth century. In this way the cemetery can be dated to an earlier period than the parish church, to the very first part of the twelfth century.

Results of the geophysical surveys

In 2010 we carried out magnetic surveying and geoelectric imaging to find the remains of the ruined church and map its structure. The survey area was pointed out based on Horedt's (1984) description and field investigation (Szilamér Pánczél and Keve László). According to Horedt (1984) the church stood on a small hill bordered from south by a little stream and from the east by a dirt road running between Citfalău and Moreşti (Fig. 4). The area fitting the description has about 50 m x 50 m in size and is elevated above its surroundings by a few meters. On the hill many brick fragments and river stones from the River Mureş can be found. Presently, the area is under agricultural cultivation.

We measured the vertical gradient of the magnetic field in a grid with spacing of 1 meter. The results are presented together with the aerial photo of the area from the Google Earth in Fig. 4. The foundation of the church is well visible in the

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middle of the picture. While the magnetic anomaly of the southern wall is relatively high (~20 nT/m), the northern wall is characterized by smaller magnetic anomalies (5-10 nT/m). This observation is interpreted that more debris, bricks and stones fill the trench of the former foundation of the southern wall than the trench of the northern wall, or some parts of the foundation of the southern wall remained in place. At the entrance of the church joint to the building a 5 m x 5 m rectangle can be seen, which indicates the foundation of the tower. The exploration trenches dug by Horedt (1952) have not crossed it. There are some small, 1-2 m size magnetic anomalies around the temple. They are probably due to the building materials of the church, which were scattered around when the temple was demolished. The WNW-ESE stripes in the magnetic image are caused by ploughing.
Magnetic surveying was able to detect the former walls of the church. However, the magnetic image is quite rough, and additionally, the depth of the walls is unknown. In many cases it is worth to apply different geophysical methods, because they are sensitive to different material properties. The geoelectric methods aim to determine the electric resistivity of the subsurface materials (TELFORD ET AL., 1990), and they complement the magnetic method. The results of the two methods can support each other and help the interpretation.

We made direct current geolectric measurements along 22 sections to obtain more detailed information about the structure of the church. The electrode spacing was 1 m along the sections, and the distance between the sections varied: it was 1 m at the ends of the church and larger (2-3 m) in the middle. The location of the sections was appointed based on the results of the magnetic survey so that they cross the walls (Fig. 5). The vertical resistivity distribution until 2 m depth was determined along the sections. Two sections are shown in Fig. 6. The foundations of the walls in the section appear as high resistivity regions. The resistivity is higher at the southern wall (~80 ohmm) and the width of the high resistivity region is larger than at the northern wall. These results are in concordance with the magnetic results, and their interpretation is the same: there is more construction material left in the southern wall than in the northern wall. The depth of the foundation is about 1.3 m.

The vertical sections can also be interpreted together, and the resistivity distribution can be given in horizontal sections, too, in different depths (Fig. 7). The horizontal resistivity sections until 1.5 m depth are very similar to Horedt's (1984) plan (Fig. 3). Both the archeological interpretation and the geophysical images (resistivity and magnetic images, too) suggest that the church consisted of two segments: the eastern compartment was smaller and narrower, and the western one was wider. There are two main differences between Horedt's (1984) interpretation and the results of the geophysical mapping: the foundation of the tower is evidenced by the resistivity and magnetic images, while it is missing in Horedt's plan. The other discrepancy is that the apsis of the church has a rectangular shape in the resistivity images, but it is rounded according to Horedt (1984). In this case the results of the excavations are the decisive evidence. The resistivity method with 1 m electrode spacing and 1 m distance between the sections does not have enough resolution to indicate the rounded shape of the apsis.

There are some other interesting features in the resistivity sections. There is a wall or debris made of brick or stone, perpendicular to the southern wall at the middle of the western segment inside the temple. This feature is also visible in the magnetic image. Its function is not known. There is an outer wall-like object, too, perpendicular to the northern wall at horizontal distance 10 m. It is not visible in the magnetic image, and its resistivity is medium (~35 ohmm), therefore its material is not a continuous solid material, probably it consists of debris.

Summary
We were able to determine the former foundations of the walls and thus, the location of the church with magnetic surveying. The results of the resistivity measurements further refined the structure of the church. The foundation of the southern wall consists of more debris of construction material than the foundation of the northern wall. The depth of the foundation is about 1.3 m. In agreement with Horedt's interpretation the church consisted of two segments: a smaller and narrower eastern and a wider western section. The apsis was rounded as shown by archeological excavations. Some inner and outer structures are also visible in the horizontal resistivity sections, but their function is not known. Maybe they just consist of redeposited construction material, fell into their present position during the demolition of the church. The most important discovery is that both magnetic surveying and geoelectric measurements indicate the foundation of a tower of the church.

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The tower, as a representative element on the western side of the churches appeared in the thirteenth century (Valter 2005, 86). In the present case it could not be detected if the tower was built in the same time as the church or it was a later addition. In the Romanesque period the majority of the village churches were built without tower.

In the thirteenth century church architecture of Mureş seat, preserved Romanesque tower is known only from Sâncraiu de Mureş (Hu. Marosszentkirály) at a distance of 9 km from Citfalău (Entz 1994, 61). Additional data concerning the dating of the destroyed church from Citfalău and its tower could be supplied only by new archaeological excavations for which the basis had been laid by the geophysical surveys.

Acknowledgements

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LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Fig. 1. The site of the disappeared church from Citfalău between Moreşti and Sântioana de Mureş on the place called *Templom dombja* (Hill of the church) on the topographic map of Hungary from the time of WWII.
Locul fostei biserici de la Citfalău între Moreşti şi Sântioana de Mureş pe movila *La Biserici*, pe harta topografică a Ungariei din perioada celui de al doilea război mondial.

Fig. 2. Ground plan of the excavations from 1952 and 1954, based on the ground plan compiled by Kurt Horedt in 1979.
Planul general al săpăturilor arheologice din 1952 şi 1954 după planul lui Kurt Horedt din 1979.

Fig. 3. Ground plan of the church from Csittfalva from 1952 with the test sections (1–excavated; 2 – not excavated).
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Fig. 4. Results of the magnetic survey shown in Google Earth map background.
Rezultatul prospecţiilor geomagnetice proiectată pe harta Google Earth.

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Fig. 5. Location of the geoelectric sections.
Locaţia secţiunilor geoelectrice.

Fig. 6. Vertical resistivity sections crossing the foundations of the walls. The foundations (shown with dark colour) are characterized by high resistivity compared to their surroundings. For location of the sections see Fig. 5.
Rezistivitaea electrică prin sondajul electric vertical. Fundaţia zidurilor (culoarea închisă) în raport cu mediul înconjurător apar cu o rezistivitate foarte mare. Locul secţiunilor vezi pe Fig. 5.

Fig. 7. Resistivity in different depths in horizontal sections. The depth of the sections is shown in the upper left corner. The foundations of the walls are shown with dark colour. The horizontal coordinates are in local system.
Rezistivitatea electrică la adâncimi diferite în secţiuni orizontale. Adâncimea secţiunilor este afişată în colţul de stânga sus. Fundaţia zidurilor este marcată de culoarea închisă. Coordonatele secţiunilor orizontale sunt redate în sistem local.

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Fig 1

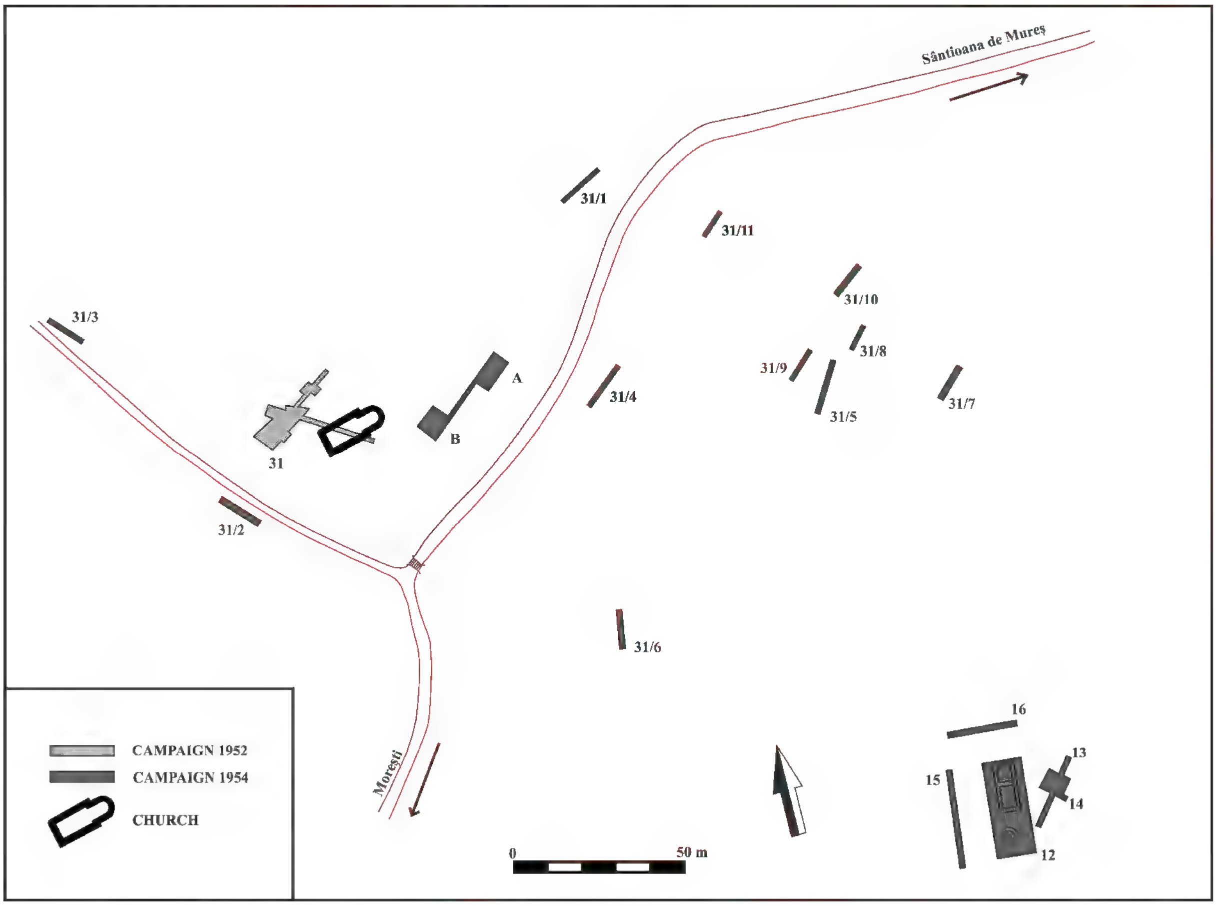

Fig 2

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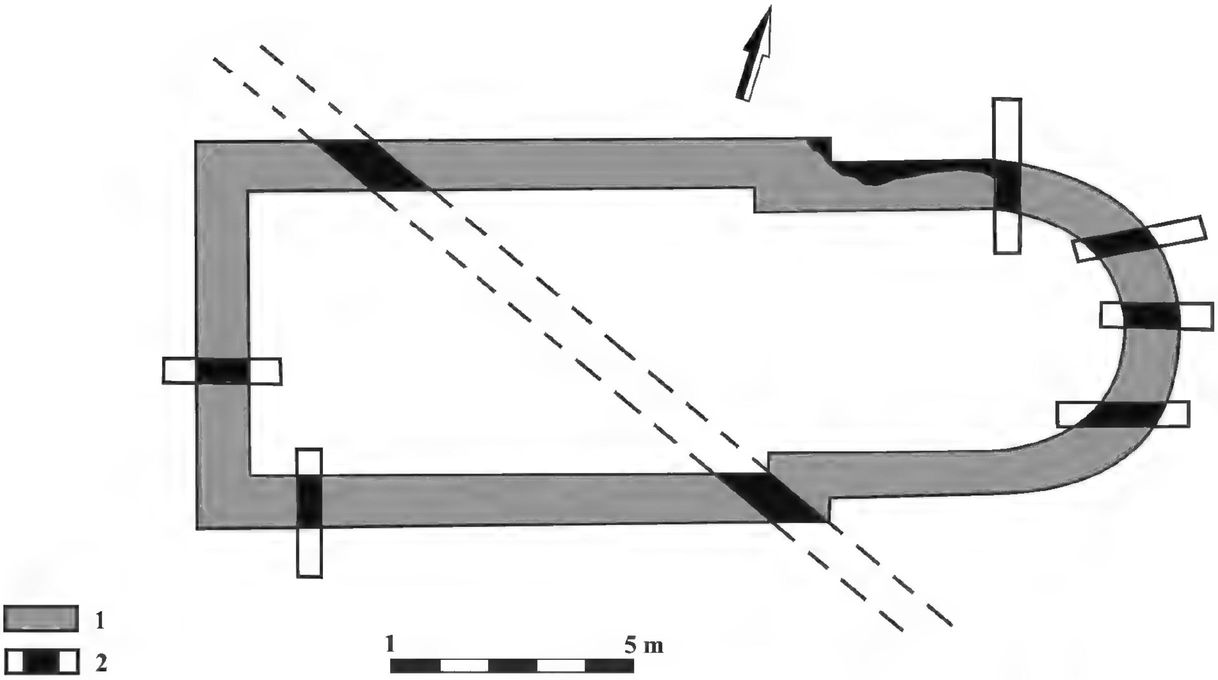

Fig 3

Fig 4

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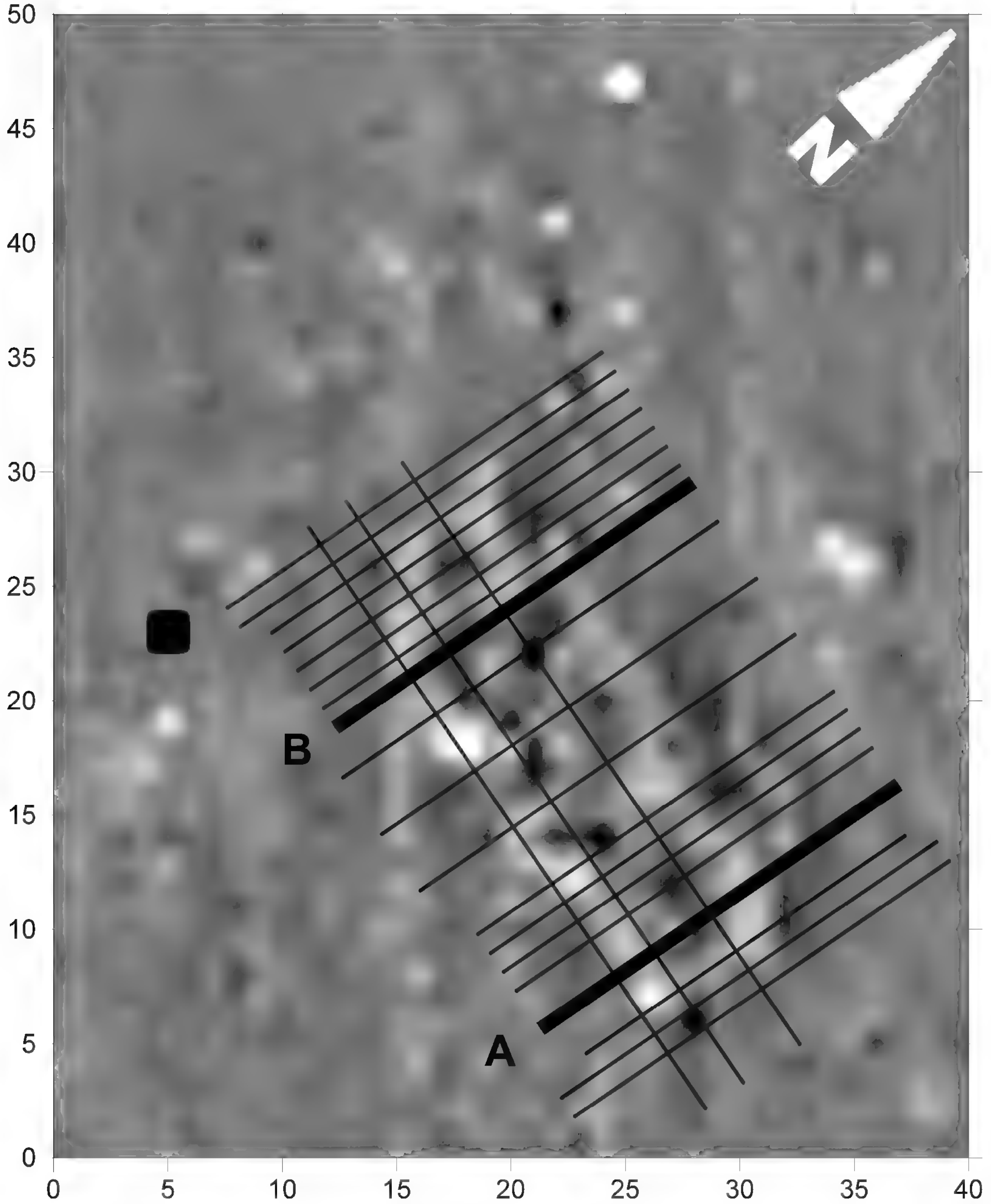

Fig 5

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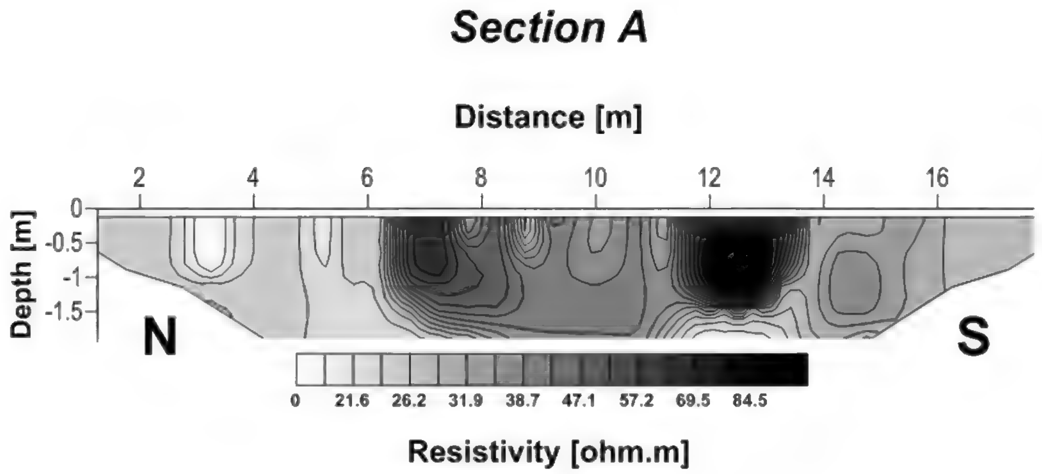

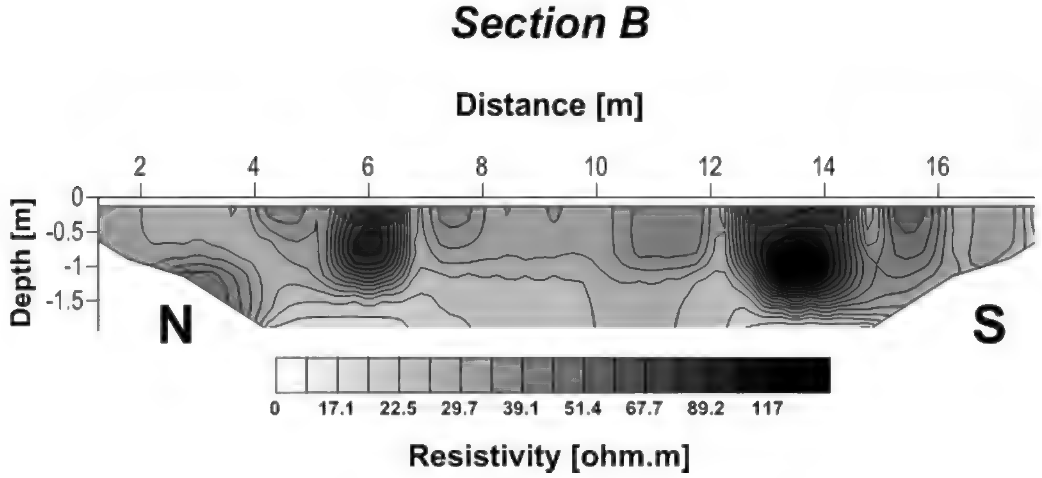

Fig 6

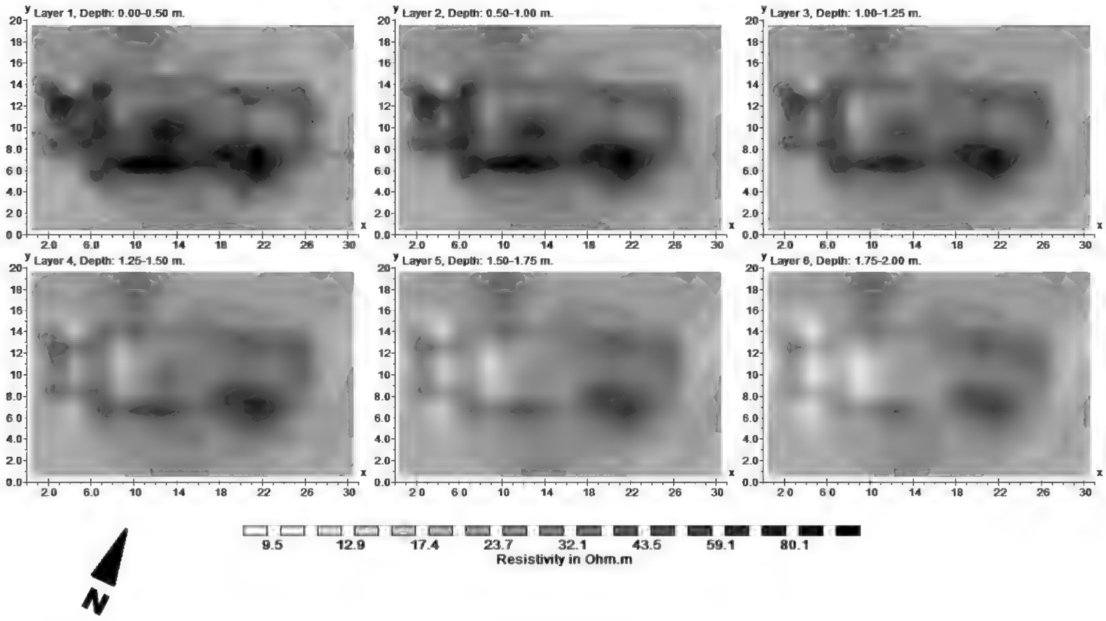

Fig 7

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ASPECTS OF THE MARRIAGE AND THE WEDDING IN TRANSYLVANIA IN THE 16TH AND 17TH CENTURIES*

Bogdan ANDRIESCU**

Abstract: *Historical documents, Hungarian and Saxon diaries and chronicles, the notes on the old Romanian book, give us high information regarding the legality and ceremony of a marriage, the scenery of a wedding in Transylvania between the17th – 19th centuries. Both the civil authorities (central and local) and the ecclesiastical one, have stated laws by which they managed the institution of marriage.*
Keywords: *Transylvania, marriage, wedding, ceremony of christening, notes on the old Romanian book*

Rezumat: *Documentele istorice, jurnalele şi cronicile maghiare şi săseşti, însemnările de pe cartea românească veche, ne oferă informaţii bogate în ceea ce priveşte legalitatea şi oficierea unei căsătorii, a cadrului de desfăşurare a unei nunţi din Transilvania secolelor XVI-XVII. Atât autorităţile civile (centrale şi locale) cât şi cele bisericeşti, au statuat legi, prin care au reglementat instituţia căsătoriei.*
Cuvinte cheie: *Transilvania, căsătorie, nuntă, botez, însemnări pe cartea românească veche*

While the Protestant and the Orthodox religions are identical in the field of principles, both considering marriage as being divisible, monogamous and forbidding extramarital relations, some differences arose in connection with the wedding ceremony and the divorce issues. Some innovations were thus introduced to the Eastern rite: an early announcement of marriage, to prevent any hindrance and the making of the vows. Another novelty if compared to the Orthodox church, consists in a different calculation of the relationship degrees church, and the prohibition of some marriages, as those between brothers and sisters-in-law.

However, frequent misunderstandings regarding the legality of marriage occurred, but the removal of some aspects connected with the legality of a marriage was difficult to achieve. Thus, in a cause debated in 1680 by the Maramureş Congregation, the defendant mentioned that "not even the divine law considered the in - law relationship an impediment to a marriage but on the contrary, the marriage between brothers and sisters - in - law is a custom". The document is important by the fact that 150 years after the onset of the new regulations introduced by the Reform and shared by the civil law, marriages between people having close degrees of kinship was still a reality. (Cziple 1916, 59)

The transition from adolescence to early youth had also changed over the centuries. The print Îndreptarea Legii (Târgovişte, 1652), presented certain facts that had already become traditions. Referring to the proper age of marriage, it mentioned the following: "Blessed is the engagement and the wedding when the man is fourteen years old and the woman is twelve, but if any engagements and ties, or cross or kisses are made before the man was fourteen and the woman twelve, then these engagements are not holy, neither recognized". They didn't accept great differences of age between the future husband and wife, such as "a husband in his fifties and a wife of twelve or fifteen years old, or a wife of fifty and a husband of twenty". Although the wedding could be celebrated from the age of fourteen to sixteen, the newlyweds couldn't become part of the adult world due to it. For example "the stewardship" (the custody) was not cancelled until the youths had not turned 25, when they "could ask for their own things, for what belonged to them and was in the steward care and only then the steward was set free of stewardship". (Îndreptarea Legii 1652 1962, 192–195). The notes on the old Romanian book give some details on the age at which marriages were celebrated, which complied with the religious principles. Nicolae Angel wrote on a page on "Ceaslov" printed in Blaj (1786) that he was born in 1771, he married when he was 25 years old, in 1796. (Mârza 1977, 365). The engagement and the marriage ages admitted in 1652, did not

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differ from those of 1817. (Codul Calimah).
The Saxon's towns statutes in Transylvania set up several rules about the proper age of starting a family "it will be considered a real marriage if the lads have reached sexual maturity, and the virgins are able to cohabit with a man". (Sutschek 1997, 185)

With the Romanians, the habit of abducting the future wife was spread just the same amongst the richest and the poorest. Although the central or the local civil laws and the church regulations were severe on this matter, with harsh pennalties, this custom is rooted mainly in the lower strata of the population. Moreover, since the first half of the 16th century, the statute laws had tried to stifle this phenomenon. The Diet of Turda, in 1543 imposed penalties to the Romanians who would kidnap a girl to make her enter into marriage. (Prodan a 1967, 384) An item approved by the Diet of Transylvania in 1635, prohibited the "land lords" to cease hindering the serf girls to marry (there were taken into account especially the Romanians). A fine of 100 florins was established as a punishment for those found guilty. This prohibition of getting married might explain to some extent the frequent kidnappings of girls. (Bariţiu a 1889, 135) Constituţiile Aprobate stated the death penalty for the Romanians who kidnapped girls or women and refused to marry them. (Constituţiile Aprobate ale Transilvaniei 1998, 232) With a fine of 200 florins were to be punished the priests and the archbishops who officiated the marriage of any "man with two wives" or with an "abducted person". In case of relapse they would be deprived of their jobs. (Constituţiile Aprobate ale Transilvaniei 1998, 59)

On the domain of Făgăraş (1508) a marriage without the parental consent was punishable by a fine of two florins. Rape was punished with a fine of 13 florins. This might decrease if the man agreed to marry the girl. But if the girl refused the proposal, the man paid a fine of only four florins. (Prodan a 1967, 372) In the villages on the Chioar domain, if the girls and married women's elopement happened with their own agreement (in the latter case they left homes) the fine was of two florins. The fine was six times higher if the kidnapping didn't have the girl or woman's consent. The same amount of fines was also levied on the Baia Mare domain (Prodan a 1967, 373) In the Romanian villages from Abrud area, the man who took a girl by force was impaled. However, if the girl said she loved him, each had to pay a fine of one florin. If a man took another man's wife, but with her consent, they considered that she had left her own home and a third of the goods that she deserved would be taken by the master. (Prodan a 1967, 374) The copyist Popa Iosif recorded on one of the pages of a Slavonic book what happened to four fellows, accused of horse theft and women's kidnapping "four men who stole horses and ran away with women did perish; two had been stabbed and two hanged." (Dudaş a 1990, 189)

Although marriage was no longer a mystery for the Protestant church, procreation still remained its purpose. The setting up of a Christian family model was its major goal. Both the state and the church considered sexual relationships before marriage as reprehensible acts and serious sins. By no means, the couple had to enter into a marriage to live in a legal framework, to repent and go to church, to get an eventual forgiveness from God. (Prodan b 1986, 406) In this context, an unusual situation occurred in Braşov, where a young goldsmith married a day after christening his child. The fact that he had sex with his future wife before the marriage and she became pregnant, committing thus a very serious sin, was not an impediment to his marriage, the young man was even forced to marry the woman. (Hegyes 1909 , 464). Happiness was given only by family life. This is the only way to keep indecent passions and desires under control. This is how the poet expressed his belief in the institution of marriage: "Oh, more could I say, but much am I dismayed / The proverb says that from waves streams are formed / But let us only believe that Good Lord / Will be on our side and with his help / We will find the happiness of married life! / Remember that the unmarried man / Often is he chained by much too many passions"(Opitz 1946, 28).

Marriage is the legal framework in which carnal passions are kept under control. The village obligation of hiring only married vassals is a consequence of this precept. Long periods of loneliness and sexual abstinence have often led to rapes. The unmarried people represented a real burden for the feudal lord. On one hand, it was an economic problem, as the setting up of a family of meant also paying regular benefits. On the other hand, a family was a barrier to debauchery. The Cadastre of the domain of Hunedoara, in 1680 stipulated "the serfs' children's age, which was recorded for the ruler to see if the young men met the age of marriage or even exceeded it, not to live a vicious life but to enter into the marriage let by God on earth and evolve, but if they didn't want to, they should be forced and even put into prison, not to procrastinate it". (Prodan b 1986, 105) In some areas there were even some special tithes applied

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to the unmarried people, "unmarried villeins" and widows. Usually, they were owed to the preacher. (Prodan b 1986, 106) The Cadastre of the domain of Hunedoara from 1681-1682, mentioned even the sons's ages, for the officials to know who was fit for marriage. If one didn't willingly agree to marry he was obliged, by being threatened with prison. The founding of a new serf unit that would pay taxes was all that mattered. Perhaps that often the young man, confronted with such an alternative, agreed to marry. In this context, a marriage based on love was out of question. (Ursuţiu 1979, 233-242) Princess S. Lorantffi's instructions for the Făgăraş domain regulated the city captain's protection. The princess forbade him to employ "homeless" unmarried serfs, considering that they were "worthless, they could not be trusted". (Prodan c 1970, 10) Marriage offered a different status. It was an undeniable proof of the maturity reached by the individual, of its own ability to support a family.

Setting up a family was a prerequisite for being accepted by the guild. This might be the most effective method of preventing a member of the guild from committing the serious sin of fornication. Otherwise, the guild honour could have suffered. Since the beginning of the 15th century (1424-The statute of the Furrier Guild from Braşov), they mentioned that somebody who wanted to join the guild had to prove that he was a legitimate son, the "fruit" of a marriage recognized both by the church and the civil authorities. (Documente 1999, 26) One of the first guild statutes that required a master to be necessarily a married was that of the furriers. Marriage was the easiest way that could stop a probable life spent in debauchery. The same statute provided, that the one who wanted to join the guild had to demonstrate "that he is legitimate born" and of German origin. (Documente 1999, 146) Another statute, that of carpenters, painters and sculptors in wood, stipulated that the man who was to become a master had to have at least a fiancée, if he didn't have a wife. (Documente, 1999, 153) A craftsman who had been part of the guild, at a certain time, could not be readmitted in the guild if he was unmarried, even if his technical skills were recognized by everybody. (Documente 1999, 236) In October 1545, the magistrate of Braşov together with the senior magistrates of Bârsa decided that all the craftsmen had to be married. This decision was aiming at "maintaining the civic order." It also forbade all the unmarried journeyman to practice the craft in the future. Perhaps this decision taken by the civil authorities was meant to put a stop to a situation more or less worrying: to an increase of the debauchery acts. It is possible that this decision had been taken under the influence of the Protestant religious ideas, which at that time were already deeply rooted in the Saxon population. (Documente 1999, 194) In a Drapers' Guild statute they mentioned three possibilities for a young craftsman to enter into a marriage. Thus, he could marry "the daughter of a craftsman, a widow or another girl". Even though between the master and the widow could have been quite an important age gap, marriage was beneficial, in financial terms, for both sides. The financial stability could be ensured both for the young master, and for the widow by this marriage. (Documente 1999, 191) In other statutes, they encouraged the marriage between a journeyman and the craftsman's widow, this leading to a reduced tax for joining the guild, from 12 to only six florins, that's half of it. (Feneşan, Lazăr 1979, 234-260) Some statutes encouraged the marriage of a journeyman to a craftsman's daughter, the tax required by the guild being reduced by half. It was the most effective means through which the master ensured the perpetuation of the craftsmanship in his own family. Also, over the years, the master succeeded in knowing the journeyman better, both his moral side and his technical skills. By agreeing to the marriage, the master was convinced that his future son - in - law would be able to provide his own daughter's financial security and peace of soul. (Documente 1999, 235) Sometimes, the guild asked the future groom to prove that financially he was able to support a family. Thus, "the barber who takes a wife should have a new scissors and new double kettles as well as three iron tools necessary for a venesection and he even had to prove that he was able to sharpen his tools." (Documente 1999, 202) In the same context, a journeyman was allowed to marry only after having managed to produce his craftsman work. It was the proof that he would be able to provide his family a decent future. (Documente 1999, 234) The fines charged for the violation of these provisions were very high (4 florins). (Documente 1999, 247) Committing adultery by a member of the guild was severely punished and he was excluded from the guild. The same punishment was given to those who stole. With exclusion was also punished the man "that would leave his wife, to whom he obliged himself by oath and would practice his craft leaving his wife and children". (Documente 1999, 206).

In this context, it's worth mentioning the records made by Comenius regarding a certain state of immorality. Becoming a school teacher at the

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alchool in Sárospatak in 1650, he had served as director of studies for three years. After several years he wrote a letter to the prince, which stresses the economic, social and educational situation in Hungary. Among the more critical attitudes we find his opinion on the couple's life. He mentioned the high number of those who lived together without being married, "most people lived together in an illegal relationship, satisfying thus their immoral desires." He even considered that the low number of children was a result of such a cohabitation "to increase the number of population, it would be suitable to promote legitimate marriages" (Albu 1944, 66-67).

The financial situation and the immoral conduct were major obstacles to a legal marriage. When one of Ştefan Mailat's daughters wanted to marry, her mother strongly disagreed. The age difference between the two of them, the man being much older, was not an impediment. What really lead to this rejection were the rumors of the man's immoral life during a previous marriage. (Popa 1937, 119)

Wealth is still a potential obstacle to achieving marriage. In a letter to Erasmus, Olahus complained of one of his learned disciple's fate, who, though being poor, married a girl without a dowry (although she was honest, hard working, born of decent parents), "only his madness and recklessness being to blame." (Firu, Albu 1968, 168-169) In his chronicle, Kraus noted a line belonging to an old song: "Some people may marry for the sake of wealth, and when it vanishes they feel sorry for having neither love nor food." (Kraus 1965, 84) Wealth was often a crucial argument for a matrimonial agreement. Thus, a young apprentice, with a satisfactory wealth, accepted to marry a young woman, at the suggestion of the guild master. Soon, however, discovering that his new wife was poor he asked the authorities to approve the divorce. Their refusal made him desperate and he committed suicide. The prospect of a marriage in poverty, with a wife who was somehow imposed to him and whom he didn't love at all, frightened him. (Nekesch-Schuller 1903, 259).

Philippe Ariès noticed the attitude of a man, who was in love and on the verge of getting married. So when falling for the young Charlotte, the king Henry IV, who was almost old and used to neglect his hair or beard and used to wear were worn out and stained clothes, had suddenly changed. He began to trim his hair, he started paying attention to his own hygiene and the clothes he started to wear were new and bright. Everyone at the court knew very well, even before the news spread, that the king was in love. The attention he gave to his body and clothes was the result of a new awareness of his appearance. The absence of the beloved woman may instead cause the negligence of the body, sometimes accompanied by loss of appetite. The presence of the beloved woman, her eyes, her gestures and smile, her words and especially her personal objects were sacred to the one in love. (Ariès, Duby 1995, 302) In the same context, one of the topics discussed when Mikes Kelemen paid a visit to a lady, was the marriage of her daughter. The future groom was no longer young and this situation gave the chronicler the opportunity of introducing some spicy moments. This type of marriage, between a very young girl and a much older husband was apparently quite frequent in Transylvania of those times. It's about marriages made for financial interests or prestige (titles of nobility), the feelings of love missing almost entirely. In our case, the young wife was ready to overcome the age obstacle, as her purpose was acquiring a social prestige, by getting the title of countess. Keen observer, the chronicler noticed the groom's emotions, concluding that the marriage due to come made him look younger. He noticed with interest the changes taking place in the personal hygiene of the future husband, not being able to overlook the fact that he began to wash more often. In the same context, the author admitted that the men's personal hygiene was not very good at that time ("we haven't quite washed up now, not even once a month"). The lack of women's presence, of meeting them more often, officially or not, led to this situation. The close time of a marriage, of an intimate relationship, leads men to take appropriate steps. An additional argument of the fact that such marriages were quite frequent, is offered to us by the existence of some prints exclusively addressed to couples. The chronicler describes such a print a calendar containing tips for a harmonious sexual life between the two partners. The calendar includes the times of the year when the two partners had to undergo a total abstinence. First of all, the holidays and all the days of fasting were included, when the prohibition was compulsory to all the Christian couples. The following periods of prohibition were determined by the meteorological and astronomical phenomena. The prohibition applied to the times when it rained, snowed, was foggy, cold or scorching hot. Similarly, the sexual abstinence was imposed during the sun or moon eclipses. These recommendations were meant to improve the health of the individual and the couple's health. In this context, even the big numbers of adulteries

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committed by the young wives, bored by their domestic of life, doesn't seem to be unusual. (Mikes 1972, 72-75) Another case when a big age gap was not an obstacle to achieving a marriage was recorded by the chronicler, who otherwise confessed with undisguised pride, that his grandfather married a virgin. (Nekesch-Schuller 1903, 244)

It was the parents' duty to deal with the wedding preparation. In this context, the description of such an event that took place in an urban area, offered the opportunity of recording some organizational and ethical data. It was a big wedding with many guests, and, accordingly, with important financial and material costs. They mentioned the price of just a single item consumed at the wedding, the wine, for which they had to pay the sum of 66 florins. Most of the kinds of food served came from the family reserves. It was mentioned: honey, butter, vinegar, fish, knot - shaped bread, the habitual spices. He recorded, very content, that he fulfilled all his tasks, both as a citizen of the town and as a parent. Thus, he paid all the necessary taxes for such an event, both to the guild and to the town. Having failed to pay these financial and civic obligations, would have certainly stained his honor as a citizen with full rights. He also noted that he had carried out all the duties he had as a parent, according to the tradition. The financial efforts he made in this field were significant, but following all the wedding customs was a priority, a matter of honor. Thus, he personally took care of the gifts to the bride, as well as of those to her parents and relatives. Unfortunately, he only recorded the gift for his future daughter - in - law, consisting of several objects of gold and silver. He also took care of the bride's attire, giving her the wedding veil, the double taffeta skirt and many other hair accessories. (Szabó Ferenc Nagy 1993, 196).

Not always the parents agreed with the partners chosen by their children. It happened especially with foster children. In such a case, father gave his consent against his own will, to the marriage of his dearest daughter, Annoko. It is a child who was baptized with the name of his own daughter, who had died of plague. His disapproval is probably the reason for not telling any details of the marriage preparation and wedding ceremony (in such cases, similar events were well described, see the above case. (Szabó Ferenc Nagy 1993, 200).

In this context, children disapprove a remarriage of one parent, following the death of another. But the overwhelming loneliness often causes a new marriage. This is why the chronicler proposed to a neighbour's widow, only a year after his wife's death. He organized the wedding very quickly, only three weeks after the proposal. Although, he was seventy years old and at a second marriage, he personally organized the wedding banquet. He was pleased he managed to buy high quality wine though at a fairly high price. Not the love feelings led him into this marriage. Moreover, the chronicler noted that he had initially wooed another woman, also a widow, but he was refused. Although somehow disappointed, he confessed that his new wife was in a precarious financial state, but showed no regret. In this context, he is annoyed that she was not invited with him to the wedding of one of his daughters, considering this "lack of kindness". Surely this daughter had some resentment towards her new mother. She might have been against her father's new marriage from the very beginning having in mind his advanced age and the bright image of her mother, who had recently died. (Szabó Ferenc Nagy 1993, 206-207).

Proper times for weddings were especially considered the week before the Advent (St Ecaterina week), the week before the second Sunday after Epiphanias (The Gospel about the wedding in Cana), or the week of the Three Kings from the East. (Schullerus 2003, 142). We notice certain violations of the canons that prohibited the religious celebration of marriage during the fasting. From a note (dated 1700) written on one of the pages of the Cazania lui Varlaam (Iaşi 1643), we find that the archbishop's son Simon married "on a Thursday, May 28 at Easter, on the Easter days, May 31." (Dudaş b 1983, 221).

There are cases when a long time passes between the marriage and the wedding ceremony. Thus, the chronicler married on the 29th of May, 1698, but the wedding was held on September 25, the same year. (Bereczki 1990, 240).

Usually, a wedding invitation was sent at least a month before the event. The groom was in charge of sending invitations. (Bánfi 1862, 122) There was a whole ceremony happening before the actual wedding. A marriage couldn't be officiated without the girl's parents' consent. Also the parents had to ask the girl if she agreed to getting married. Once they got her agreements, the wooing followed. The girl and her parents fixed a specific day when the young man could come to their house. The girl told the boy about the chosen day. On the set day, the young man, elegantly dressed, surrounded by a large suite, descended at the house girl. They were usually invited to dinner. The boy was invited to sit in front of the girl. Sometimes even his

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companions joined him to dinner. There were served many dishes. The party used to last until after midnight, the quantities of alcohol consumed being impressive. Dance could not miss from such an event either. Sometimes, even the girl's parents sent suitors (two people, relatives) to the boy's parents. In this case they were also treated very well, with all kind of foods. This custom seems to have gradually got out of use, not being mentioned any longer in the 17th century.

Several days later, the boy sent two suitors to the girl's parents, to fix the engagement day. There was a special ceremony that had to be strictly followed both by the boy and girl. On the set day, the boy came to the girl's house, dressed in his best clothes. He kneeled in front of the girl and through a symbolic gesture, he touched the girl's fingers with his fingertips, asking thus her to marry him (he did the engagement request.). Receiving the girl's consent and that of her parents, he sent the girl the engagement ring through two relatives (suitors.) The girl took the ring through a relative of hers, a woman. She then sent the boy a handkerchief adorned with some stitches (usually embroidered by herself). At a time agreed in advance, the young man, along with some relatives went to the girl's house. Again, it began another strictly respected ceremony. The girl was brought to the meeting by a woman chosen from her relatives. The two future spouses received the priest's blessing, while seated on a carpet that was to be given as a gift after the ceremony. According to the custom, both the girl's and the boy's parents had to offer gifts after the ceremony officiated by the priest. Then the feast followed, the couple being seated at the table face to face. The party used to last long after midnight. The next morning, the groom sent his bride and her parents a gift. Afterwards it followed the girl's separation from her parents. As long as they were engaged the girl addressed to the boy with the nickname "big brother" while the boy told her "little sister". They often used these forms of addressing to each other in their letters before the engagement.

Thorough wedding preparations followed. If there was a considerable distance to the girl's home, requiring several stations, the boy established the route. He was obliged to carry in advance the necessary food in the places where the procession had to set up a camp. The food had to be considerable, as the wedding party procession came back on the same route. The boy chose his godparents, his best men and the bridesmaids from his own relatives. If he didn't have relatives, he had to call a friend, usually a wealthier one. The wedding procession made a stop near the girl's village. The groom then sent an emissary to the girl's parents to learn when they were able to receive them. Once the permission being given, two best men, dressed for celebration, went to the bride's house, announcing the arrival of the procession. The host offered them wine and they had to dance three times, according to the tradition. The procession then proceeded to the bride's house. The groom was in the first carriage together with the godfather. The godmother and the bridesmaids went in the second carriage. The two coaches were escorted by two best men on horseback. The groom usually brought a carriage pulled by several horses, for the bride. The two coaches were followed by servants "clean and decently dressed." When the procession was near the girl's home, a representative of the host came out to meet them, with a ring and two or three golden coins. A real contest followed, between young men riding horses, both from the bride's and of the groom's procession, to get these things. The winner was then much praised. Once they got to the girl's village, the groom had to send through one of his best men some valuable gifts to the girl. Usually, he sent a couple of dresses and money. The representative of the bride (the host) thanked for the gifts. The host, usually a wealthier nobleman, had a golden stick as a sign of recognition. He had more assistants, with same signs of recognition, but painted in green.

Weddings were often held in spacious tents, especially built for the event. Some stoves gave the necessary heating if the wedding took place in a cold season. Once in front of the girl's house, the godparents were the first who walked into the house, followed by the groom, his parents, best men and bridesmaids. The "host" was that who met the procession "by royal and decent jokes, about the young couple." The bride's parents then brought the bride, inviting the whole congregation at the table. At that time, godmother and a best man lead the bride to the groom's procession and placed her in front of it. The first one among the men was the bridegroom, followed by godfather and a best man. The personal hygiene before the meal was mandatory. A butler brought more towels, bowls and cups. The first who washed their hands were the newlyweds.

The "Hosts" then lead the wedding guests to the table, the groom's procession being placed separately from the bride's procession. The first table was reserved for the couple. Godfather sit next to the groom, the best man near the godfather, followed according to their ranks, in a strict order,

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by the other guests. Godmother sit near the bride, followed by the bridesmaid and the other women. The place of the key "host," a true "master of ceremonies", was at the middle of the table. Before dining, the guests, standing up, had to listen to the priest's blessing. An orchestra, but sometimes even two, one of the bride's, another one of the groom's, played music in the background.
The menu usually included four or five dishes. "The host's helpers" were those who served the guests. There was a whole ritual of toasts, the people from the groom's procession toasted in the honor of those in the bride's procession and vice versa". The host's assistants had to take care and fill the guests' glasses all the time. Large plates of fruit and "sweets" ended the feast. Only now dance could begin. The groom and his bride, godfather and godmother, the best man and the bridesmaid were those who started the dance. After that, the other wedding guests were invited to dance. Only the Polish polka was mentioned of all the dances. The bride changed her clothes during the wedding even two or three times. One of the highlights of the wedding was "the bride's dance." The first dance was given to godfather, then to her father and relatives. "It was a sort of farewell to her family".

A habit which seems to have gone at the end of the 17th century was about some symbolic gestures that the girl was obliged to do towards her parents, when the procession entered the house. Thus, while uttering her farewell to her parents, she had to kneel down both in front of her mother and father. She thanked them for their care because "they married her properly". She often kissed her parents' feet and parents, in turn, kissed the girl. Some other dances of the bride followed. Then, the bride was accompanied by the best man, the godmother and the bridesmaid to the bridal chamber, where the groom was waiting. The best man cut the wreath of flowers on the bride's head by a sword stroke. The gesture signified the imminent loss of virginity. The party went on until dawn in the absence of the newlyweds.

The next morning godmother helped the bride to dress herself with one of the dresses received as a gift from the groom. A tiara and a hood sewn and adorned with precious stones were put on her head. The best man invited the guests again to the party. While having breakfast, the best man served the guests with wine and honey. Then everybody kissed his partner. At lunch, godfather and godmother were the hosts. They served a traditional meal "the godmother's pie", a rolled pie made of rice, deer liver, plums and honey. Lunch lasted until late at night. Dancing was also customary.

The third day, the young bride was ready to leave the family home. Two people, designated in advance, scrupulously noted the items received by the bride as dowry. Also, according to the habit, those who attended the wedding received presents both from the groom and from the bride's parents. Godfather usually received, a silk shirt, sewn with silk thread and having a white lace collar. The women got silk scarves. The next day after the procession departure, the bride's father "paid" those who helped him,"the hosts". He gave each of them, according to their title of nobility, a gift: cloth, fur, golden coins, horses.

These weddings were often peppered with comic moments. In fact, according to the tradition, these pranks were a must, in order to entertain the guests and the children. One of them, addressed to the best man involved serving him with a pie having its dough filled with pieces of cloth and brass sticks. "If he was experienced, he pricked the pie with his fork and then sent it back to godmother, being immediately praised for his skill." Sometimes real contests were organized, meant to entertain the guests. The public enjoyed them very much. Thus, usually on the second day of the wedding, they put a cup of wine, some golden coins and cloth on top of a tall fir tree. The fir tree branches were cut and the trunk was greased with tallow. The few objects got into the possession of the person who managed to reach first the top of the tree. "That was their entertainment." (Apor 1972, 93-114) It is obviously the most thoroughly described noble wedding in the 17th century. The importance of the description lies in revealing some traditional elements of a wedding that began to disappear towards the end of the 17th century.

This custom is also met at a Saxon wedding. Thus, at one of these weddings a tall fir tree was set up, having a bag of money, a pair of pants and a pair of red boots on its top. (Benkner 1903, 198).

Another famous nobles' wedding, described in detail by the chronicler, was held in 1702 in the city of Gilău, near Cluj. Count György Bánffy and his wife, Countess Klara Bethlen married "their beloved daughter", Countess Anna Bánfy to Count Adam Székely. Godfather was Count István Apor. Both godfather and godmother's clothes were sumptuous. Thus, godfather was wearing a burgundy velvet fur coat, with marten skin lined mantles and buttons of precious stones. As about the women their accessories showed an impressive

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wealth and were very valuable. (Apor 1972, 114-115) A huge tent was built in front of the fortress, where not less than 50 tables were put. The tent was adorned with expensive carpets, the floor covered with cloth. The chairs, especially made for this event, were covered in red velvet. The tablecloths, of the same material, were hemmed with golden lace around. Dinner had been served in silence. Gradually, the wine unloosened the guests' tongues and they became noisy. Another ten tables were put into the tent, with a huge amount of crockery (cups, goblets). All of them were decorated with rubies, emeralds, diamonds, pearls. The quantity and the variety of foods made from venison (deer, rein deer, pheasants) was amazing. It is worthy to mention the culinary refinement of the dishes, which "were decorated as if it they were alive." As about the pastries, not only their variety, but especially the chef's imagination and the way he decorated them was spectacular. The Făgăraş Fortress was recreated from pastries in its smallest details, "with its inner and outer bastions, with the soldier that guarded its gate having a gun on his shoulders...and around the fortress there was water and small fish inside it". The quantity of the wine purchased on that occasion was more than enough for all the wedding guests. The Hungarian fiddler's music and the dancing had entertained the guests. In the evening, the bride changed her bridal attire with another dress. Also, she unbraided her hair, which was tight into a bun and adorned it with different colourful ribbons. The bride dance then followed, in a strict order, first with the godfather, then with her father and finally with the best man, who afterwards lead the bride to the bridal chamber. In the honor of this event, several cannon volleys were fired. (Apor 1972, 115-119).

Another wedding that became famous by its showy display was that between the Count Ferrari Bartholomew and Agnes, daughter of late magistrate Samuel Kálnoki. Thus, at the end of the wedding, they displayed "fireworks, which hadn't been seen by the Transylvanians before." (Bariţiu b 1869, 287).

"Peter Costa" wrote down on one of the pages of the printing Catavasier (Blaj, 1762) that he had spent ten days' at his own wedding, at "Kauasd, at his father-in-law, Petru Berghe". He married a woman from the neighbouring village and the wedding probably took also place in his village, but he mentioned only the event organized by his wife's family. We notice the length of time of the event. (Mălinaş 1993, 56)

A story relating a Saxon engagement in a rural area in 1677 (Nadeş) presents the unchanged custom of the popular betrothal (the speaker becomes the godfather, the groom gives his bride the ring, the girl 's consent is asked only after her parents had already agreed, to the marriage "the undoubtedly" wine is drunk to the end): "And Luca Ludwig the guild master, started and asked her father, mother and brother if they wanted him to untie what we had tied before, or to let it untied for ever, and all the three said in one voice not to unravel anything asking him just to be their witness. At this point, the girl was promised to this man and mother father and brother said they all four agreed to that. Then they asked for the girl to come and they told her:" Well, dear daughter, look at him, and if you like him or not, tell us now, otherwise only death would be able to untie you, as we don't agree today and disagree the next day. And Ludwig advised her to think well. And the girl replied, saying this: I won't undo all that did my father and my mother, but tied they will remain, and then she shook my hand and the groom's hand. That's why the groom gave her the wedding ring as a sign of pre engagement while we were all sitting. She received it and we drank a glass of wine in their honor". (Schullerus 2003, 141-142).

There were law items which precisely established the length of time between betrothal and marriage. Thus "if one was engaged to a maid but for two years living in the same country he didn't marry her, the girl, without any impediment because of the wow, may be promised to another one, without letting herself deceived or hindered by the pending marriage." (Sutschek, 1997, 186) The Saxons town statutes established some rules that had to be obeyed by any person who wanted to get married. A marriage, in order to be recognized, had to be made "with the parents' knowledge and approval." Their consent was not necessary any longer, if "they live together and become husband and wife...they will not be separated because of it." (Sutschek 1997, 185).

The Statute of Sibiu, issued in 1565, established clear rules about the wedding feast. It was held in three stages: on the occasion of the promise or hands shaking, on the rings exchange and on the wedding celebration. These strict regulations could be a sign of the big length of time taken in organizing a wedding before this law was adopted. It is easy to notice that all these stages of the feast were in agreement with the Lutheran church canons, certain habits or traditions being prohibited. There was also a ban on the number of guests, they were not allowed to put more than ten tables. (Avrigeanu 1970, 28-29) Similarly, the

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statute of the wool weavers'guild from Cisnădie compelled, under the threat of fines, those attending a wedding, to have a sober and balanced behaviour during that event. Thus, there were severely punished those who "shouted out loud while dancing." (Documente 2003, 394) These measures were imposed, as long as, certain conflicts, occurring during a wedding, often degenerated into physical violence. Thus, in July 1600, several witnesses were heard at the judge's seat in the process of the applicant Ioannes of Vlăhiţa, against Ioannes Jakoch of Căpalniţa, on the dispute that arose between the two sides at a wedding. (Demeny 1994, 70)

Frequently certain citizens' weddings enjoyed the attention of the city magistrate who offered different gifts to the new couple. They generally consisted of food. Thus, in Sibiu, in 1497, B. Fleischer received as a wedding gift spices, that cost three florins. This amount would have been plentiful for the preparation of all the necessary food at the wedding. Another citizen, who probably took part in the city council, received as a wedding gift two oxen and six florins, that should have been enough to cook all the dishes for the guests. (Teutsch a 1895, 155) If the man to get married was an important member of the city leadership, the gifts he received were really precious. The magistrate Albert Huet got on his wedding day "from the Council of Sibiu, a golden cup, two chairs and from Prince Bathori a golden cup, and on top of it there were carpets, fish, wine barrels, silver spoons" (Teutsch a 1895, 165).

Informations on the Orthodox marriage in Transylvania in the 17th century is offered by the "Molitvelnicul" printed in Bălgrad in 1689. The engagement service was performed after the Mass, in the middle of the church, where the Saint Gospel, the Holy Cross and the candlesticks were put on a table. The engagement rings were placed on the Gospel. It is remarkable that the words, "honest marriage and unsullied bed" were replaced with "unsullied life". The message about the sin of adultery was more hidden in the second message as compared to the first one, where it was very clear. As about the second marriage, the couple was not allowed to drink from "the communal cup." Also, they didn't perform the ritual dance, as the joy it symbolized was inappropriate with the penance recommended by the Church on a second marriage. (Vanca 1998, 95-97) The priests were forbidden to officiate religious marriages in the afternoon or at night. They could only take place in the morning after the Divine Liturgy. They had to inform in advance those who wished to marry, to come on the fixed day "without having drunk or eaten anything." The priest was not allowed to officiate the marriage if the bride and the groom did not know "Our Father, The Creed and The Commandments". The couple had to promise that, after the marriage, they wouldn't not miss the Sunday service at church and would obey the fasts and the confession. Moreover, the confession was mandatory for the bride and the groom just before their religious marriage. (Tempea 1968, 123)

Within the Romanian communities, giving a book as a dowry to the daughter who would enter a marriage was mentioned several times. The archbishop Ştefan of Căşeiu gave his daughter as a dowry a "homily" (unidentified). He expressed his will that this print should remain to his grandsons. (Dudaş a 1990, 181) The Octoih printed in Târgovişte in 1712 was bought by Mihai Horje from Călugări for 8 florins and 5 "fonţi" of bacon, that valued 10 "groşniţe". The book was given to his son in law "to belong to him and his babies". (Dudaş a 1990, 279) The print Apostol (Bucureşti, 1683) was given in 1765 by the "priest Avram" to his son, the church singer Anghel Petru. The new owner made a note immediately after receiving the donation: "I wrote in the year 1765, March the 8, Petru Dieac". (Lupan, Haţeganu 1974, 376-377) From a note written in 1675, on one of the pages of Cazania lui Varlaam (Iaşi, 1643), from Budeşti, we learn that the print was given as dowry to the daughter of "Priest Toader from Budatelec", who got married in a neighbouring village to the "Priest Precup of Târgşor". After the death of his son in law, after the year 1675, the book went back to the property of "Priest Toader" who gave it as dowry to another daughter, "Todosia's dowry" who was about to marry to "Priest Gabor from Băiţa". The note ends with an anathema towards the man who would give the book away. (Dudaş b 1983, 230-231) "Irimie Pop Todor from Vidra de Jos", was in 1856, the owner of the Psaltire printed in Sibiu in 1709. A year later, the book became the property of "Gligor Tamaş the teacher" he received it at his wedding as a result of marrying the "priest Todor's sister's daughter" (the book was probably given as dowry). (Basarab a 1998, 65).

The image of the ideal wife comes out in rhymes, told by the groom during the marriage. He was obliged to counsel his young wife. The purpose of these tips was of setting up a bright image of the new couple in the others' eyes. The woman was obliged to follow the advice to be respected and admired. Any breach would have harmed not only her image, but the couple as a whole. If these percepts were followed the new family wouldn't become subject of gossip. We notice even an

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embellishment of the relationship between the husband and wife, all for the same purpose. The fear of being rejected or banished from the community was steadily growing.

The woman had to respect her husband, and therefore his decisions. Hospitality was one of the virtues that a wife should be endowed with. She was required to properly receive the guests and if she was in a low mood she had to hide this as well as possible. Whether there were more or less guests, the conversation should have been cordial, polite and to the point. Otherwise there was the risk of becoming boring or, worse, of talking about issues beyond her own knowledge. In other words, she should answer only if it was necessary and should ask just few questions, and then she had to carefully choose every word. This advice also applied when she went shopping. The next advice was about the attention she had to pay to her own clothes. If she neglected this duty, "if the clothes are crying on you" she would harm not only herself, but the consequences would fall upon her husband too, who would be accused by the community of not being able to support his own wife. The young wife had to skillfully manage the common goods, not to be wasteful, otherwise the people close to her would call her a "bottomless basket". Alcohol drinking should have been moderate, so that "you can taste wine in our house, but must not be a guest at the inn". Another duty referred to fulfilling her household duties so "you should keep our house clean and often sweep our room". Otherwise, the new couple's house had been laughed at, and the wife would have been called "dirty cloth". If the woman hadn't fulfilled her duties, she would have been severely punished by the man "the length of her back couldn't avoid the long rod". These little poems usually ended with threats that in case of disobedience, the toughest corporal punishment would be applied. In fact, this was a sign that there were many cases of domestic violence. It also reveals the woman's social condition, as submission and obedience of her husband were considered to be two essential virtues. The wife's answer contained the commitment that she would follow exactly her husband's advice: "Your words of love are dearest to me, your advice is wise and fair, I will keep them in my heart as precious gifts." (Szkharosi 1892, 26).

Another similar little poem shows us the care that a wife should give to her own clothes, as she had to "praise" the clothes bought to her by her husband. The reason of this advice was the same: the bad impression she would make on the community, which would have called her "a loosen reel". Another tip aimed at developing the future wife's capacity of wisely managing the wealth of the house, so that "our wheat and flour you must not waste." An intemperate wife wouldn't have honored the house, the opinion of others prevailing in this case too. Moderation was also the key word when referring to drinking alcohol. The future husband didn't forbid her such a pleasure, he even let her occasionally go to the pubs. Another advice was about the wife's duty to take care of the house cleaning. The advice usually ended with one or more threats, addressed by the husband to his wife in case of disobedience. There was even a curse of the kind "if you don't obey me, may God not protect you". The husband's threats envisioned corporal punishments "you shall not keep your back away from the bat or rod". (Szkharosi 1892, 27).

In the same context, another little poem that was circulating at that time contained various tips for the lads and girls who wanted to start a family. To form a happy couple, the woman had to be endowed with some virtues, to fulfill certain duties, considered essential at that time. Thus, the future wife had to take care both of her personal hygiene and of the home she will live in. At about the first requirement the future wife "should not cut the bread with dirty hands." They wanted to comply with minimum standards of personal hygiene, and especially with some behavioral rules showing a good education. Hands' washing before meals was in evidence of this fact. Similarly, the woman's concern for her own aspect played an important role in choosing a wife. Thus, "where the girl combs her hair every third week...it's pointless to go" was the advice for a young man who intended to get married. Related to home hygiene, the future wife should be endowed with the virtue of diligence, the young man being advised "not to go where the house is swept only at lunch time". (Szkharosi 1892, 35)

A little-known fact refers to the life of the new couple, immediately after the marriage was consumed.. Thus, the chronicler and his wife spent the day after the guests' departure at his castle in Bonţida. The following day, together with his wife, he accepted an invitation to lunch. Over the next three days, the newly couple was invited to attend a wedding. A few days later, the chronicler was called by the prince to his military camp and was forced to leave his wife. He left, accompanying the prince on the battle field in Western Hungary. In the first month of war, he still found some time to send two letters to his wife, receiving also two in turn. The fact that his uncle had died just two weeks before the wedding didn't make the

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chronicler postpone the event. In fact, two days after the funeral he attended a wedding. (Bánfi 1862, 127-128).

All the institutions of the Principality, the religious (The Protestant and The Orthodox denominations) and the civil ones, both local (city magistrate, guilds, feudal lords) and central (diet) have encouraged and tried to regulate the institution of marriage. They had in view to drop the divorce numbers, debauchery and bigamy. The Saxons' town statutes stipulated that a woman could get a divorce, if the "man because of his impotence couldn't fulfill his marital obligations for two years this without losing a third of her due goods ". (Sutschek 1997, 187).

In case of divorce, the Orthodox Church admitted a wide range of reasons: adultery, shameful behavior, maltreatment, absence from home, murder conviction. A reduction of the reasons called upon by a woman to obtain a divorce can be found in the print Îndreptarea Legii. Thus, if a man hit his wife when he was angry or drunk, then "if she wasn't beaten too hard, they could not part." The woman could ask for a separation from her husband "if he got crazy", "if he put his wife into irons or somewhere into a prison" or if he hit her so terribly that "if she hadn't managed to escape, he would have killed her" "or if a fight was so serious that "she couldn't speak in front of the judge and sustain her claims". The wounds left by a fight were taken into consideration only if they were made with a knife or an ax. These deeds started to be penalized only in the Indreptarea Legii in 1652. (Îndreptarea Legii 1652 1962, 211).

Not only the historians but also the humanists, condemned that the Romanians could get a divorce too easily. A small argument between husband and wife lead to the onset of a divorce. In most cases the woman used to leave home. In the same way, the writer recorded and condemned the ease of receiving blessings for the second or the third marriage. This Transylvanian humanist lyrics is suggestive: "If a quarrel causes justified anger to a furious man / And if he does not control his vindictive rage, / The woman, crying hard, / Rips from her ear the worthless coins / And throwing it into the her husband's chest, is leaving him angrily / And becoming free, she leaves her upset husband". (Poezia latină, 2005, 109) Those who committed such crimes were not only ordinary people. Schesaeus recorded how frequent the Romanian nobles separated from their wives, the reasons for such separations being in most cases "fabrications". In these cases, male infidelity was often the reason of divorce, "whenever they liked, they left their wives / And others did they take, inventing frequent separations." (Poezia latină 2005, 169).

In fact, the main culprits, incriminated by the representatives of the Protestant denominations were considered the Orthodox priests. The reason was that they accepted the divorce too easily, and easily performed a second or even a third wedding ceremony. Moreover, there are reported cases when even the priest was the one who sinned in this way. Thus, over only ten years (1591 - 1601) two of the priests of the Scheii Brasovului Church remarried after the death of their wives, abandoning the priesthood.(Tempea, 1968, 98) Similarly, the archbishop Florea was accused of allowing "unpious things"officiating the fourth marriage of some parishioners. (Tempea 1968, 114) The British travelers were also surprised by the ease with which the Orthodox priests tied and untied a marriage or blessed "a second or even a third marriage." (Andras 2003, 315) In addition to the triple announcement of the marriage in church, to avoid any hindrance, the Orthodox priests were required to keep records on marriages, spouses' names and date of marriage. They aimed in particular at avoiding bigamy and stipulated the compulsory separation of the bigamist laymen together with a severe fine of 100 florins. (Ghitta 1987-1988, 467-474)

The Protestants have tried to impose their own model, admitting only three reasons that could undo a marriage: adultery, home abandonment, husband's impotence. Generally, divorces were forbidden when a spouse left home but continued to live in Transylvania, separations being admitted only if one partner left and didn't return within seven years. In fact, the chronicler recorded the divorce of four people "although they had a long marriage." This statement is an argument of the rarity of such separations, because if the divorce was a mass phenomenon, the note could have missed.. (Nekesch-Schuller 1903, 232).

In this context, a document from 1596, mentioned the request of a Romanian from Ocna Sibiului, Petru Orgovan, who asked for a divorce at the local court, but was refused. Dissatisfied with this decision, he addressed himself to the prince, who sent his request to be solved by the Court in Sibiu. Disgruntled, he called on Princess Maria Cristierna, who ordered the resumption of the process by the Court in Sibiu".

It indicates that the Romanians had to submit to the same rules of divorce on one hand, and on the other, the couples' difficulties in getting a final

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separation .(Teutsch b 1862, 246, 249).

A record of a divorce happened in Simleul Silvaniei reveals details of the intimate life of a couple and the reasons they asked for divorce. This example comes only to strengthen the previous one, the court decision certifying that there were no real reasons for getting a divorce. The document appears to be relevant in terms of providing some aspects of family life, domestic violence being quite common. Sexual frustrations pushed the man to commit violent acts against his wife. The court admitted the defendant complaints, considering that the wife's very observance of her conjugal duties could prevent future acts of violence .The wife sued her husband, having as arguments the frequent physical abuses she was subjected to. In this context, several witnesses were interviewed, all declaring that "there wasn't any brutal beating because none of them had seen the defendant beating the plaintiff with a stick or other brutal object or that he would have caused bruising or red spots on her body or he would have plucked off her hair or he would have made have blood on her body...which all are signs of severe beatings…also that she couldn't present any medical certificate to certify what she had said...thus, a severe fight couldn't be proved". However the sixth witness' stated that he had seen the defendant slapping his wife. The defendant did not deny that he often hit the plaintiff, but "not in a brutal way". The man tried to excuse himself, speaking about the reasons which led him to commit violent acts against his own wife and complained to the court saying that "the plaintiff hated him so much that at night she used to move away from him...and she didn't even let him put his hand on her...and when he wanted to come near her, she used to start shouting loud, to wake up everybody and thus evade the marital obligations." He continued his plea, stating that he was affected by his wife rejection "being in a permanent emotional turmoil, he is absent to all that's happening around him." Further, the defendant, through the certificate issued by the local priest, as a consequence of the testimony of nine witnesses, proved that his wife was taught by her mother "to be evil to her husband" and not to fulfill her marital obligations, "something that have lasted for more than nine months." He also mentioned that this sexual abstinence had worsened his health so that "his nerves are shaken, he has no will of working and there are strong reasons to show that the misunderstandings between them and their difficult life was due to the plaintiff's mother."

The court couldn't find any grounds for divorce and rejected it. In this context, they were required to respect some rules of conduct. Thus the wife was obliged to return home "along with all the objects she took when she left, to respect and obey her husband, to fulfill her marital duties and not to avoid her husband, as St. Paul said, wife is no longer her own master but her husband' is". The man promised to the priest and the curators that "he won't beat his wife any longer, he won't drink as much as before, he will love and protect his wife as any other good Christian." Other decisions taken by the court referred to their relations of the wife's mother. Thus, to avoid suspicion that mother stirs her daughter against her husband through her advice, she was forbidden to come and visit them. In turn, the wife could visit her mother only with her husband's consent. There were excepted from this rule the cases when the daughter's mother would have become ill, in this situations the girl's visits could be unlimited. If the plaintiff's mother had broken the rules, she would have been brought to justice. (Biblioteca Judeţeană Astra Sibiu, Colecţii speciale, Document nr. Inv. 10297. Decizia de divorţ a soţilor Vorelko).

If people wanted to remarry, invariably they should obtain forgiveness from the church. Two people in this situation were rebuked by the priest in church. His attitude was very harsh, his accusations were headed both to the woman and the man. The two of them were simply thrown away. The man left the sacred place extremely annoyed by the reaction of the priest, but somehow confident that he hadn't sinned. They got on trial as a consequence of this event. Most of the witnesses were surprised by the priest's language, who called them: "slut", "whore", "mad dogs". His reaction was amplified by the fact that although the two had asked forgiveness for their previous divorce, they were married by "a priest of heretical religion" (in their belief, an Orthodox priest). (Asszonyok és Férfiak Tüköre 1980, 378-384) A remarriage shortly after the death of a first wife was the only option of a priest in getting an ordainment. Nistor Socaci "rector of Biscaria and of Săuleşti" married Sofia Popovici in May of 1837 "the daughter of the late Ion Popa". After a few months, on the 5th of November she died and was buried on a "Sunday, November 7". From another note we find that Nistor Socaci was appointed deacon soon after his marriage from June, 3, 1837. In about a year, on the 25th of June 1838 he was ordained priest. (Basarab a 1998, 108)

The ceremony of christening, celebrated on the same day or shortly after birth, marked the entry of

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the new born into the Christian life. This is the mystery that, cancelling the original sin, made him a good Christian. The name chosen for him by the godfather and godmother placed the child under the protection of a saint in heaven, who became his model, and at the same time integrated the child into the family community. The christening mystical and symbolic significance clearly transpired when the town priest managed to convince many people to be baptized again. The belief in the necessity of this act can purify the sinners' souls. (Hegyes 1909, 464).

Often a longer period of time (even several months) passed between the birth of a child and his baptism. Thus, Kálnoki the chronicle, baptized his daughter, who was born on the 20th of April 1637, only on the 19th of July the same year. (Kálnoki 1862, 149) His son, Samuel Kálnoki, was in the same situation several decades afterwards. Thus, he baptized his girl who was born on September 2, 1669 only two months later. It's worthy to notice that on the 20th of July, 1670 another daughter was born to him. Basically his wife became pregnant immediately after giving birth to their first child. (Kálnoki 1862, 156) In another similar case, a wife gave birth to a baby only 13 months after the death of another child. (Bereczki 1990, 241).

The custom of choosing more godparents was often met in the Saxon community. It seems that it was not mandatory for the godparents to be married, the chronicler mentioning that they were "Pleckerus and Chrestels and his wife Sara". (Benkner 1903, 189) The chronicler chose three godparents for his newborn daughter, a man and two women. But he had to pay a sum of money to persuade them. (Hegyes 1909, 457) There are also cases when the number of the godparents was really impressive. Thus, on a girl's christening, there were chosen not less than nine godparents, including four men and five women. Among them, two were the priests who baptized her. It should be noted that the nine people weren't related. After the christening ceremony, the child's parents invited the godparents to dinner where they served "three kinds of meals and the dishes were so wonderful that they could have been appreciated anywhere."(Wesselényi 1973, 715) Personal notes were found on the Psaltire printed in 1796 in Bucharest. In 1840, on a Friday, "son Joseph Oto" was born, whose godfather was D. Iosif, "parochi Panovici". Two years later, on November 28, at midnight "son Atilius Paulus'" was born, whose godfather was Paul Dunka from Zlatna. The next two children, Paulina, born on the 30th of June 1846 "at 3:00 p.m." and Ioan, born in 1849, had the same godparents, named "Kovaks". The last of the children, Ana, was born in 1852 "after midnight". Her godfather was "Iosiv the priest". It's worth to know that the person who wrote the notes, for two of the children also mentioned the sign under they were born "Lion". (Pascu 1976, 87-88)

The high birth rate and the high mortality, the family structure and the family size, often transpires in the notes written on the old Romanian books. The high birth rate of the time followed but the high infant mortality shows first of all the individual attitude, his resignation as he accepts his child's death, firmly believing that this was God's will. The sadness caused by the death of a child was usually removed by the birth of another child, a sign of divine benevolence. Notes about births followed by deaths, are found on the pages of the printing Acatistiariu (Blaj 1763). The priest Grigore Şeuşa bought at an unspecified date (probably the second half of the 18th century) the Molitvenic, printed at Bălgrad in 1689. The book was purchased for the remembrance of his family, consisting of three boys and five girls "to bring pity upon me, my wife, Ştefania and my sons, Constantin, Ion, Maria, Ana, Ioana, Ileana, Nastasia". (Bogdan, Mihu 2008, 20) Some notes made on several pages of the Cazania lui Varlaam (Iaşi, 1643) from Brâglez, offer information on the family structure. The print was bought by "Priest Toma from Călacea", "on the days of Apafi Mihai, prince of Transylvania" and given to his family. According to the notes, the priest Toma had two sons, five daughters, two grandchildren, two brothers and three sisters. (Dudaş b 1983, 228) Through the efforts of a single family, they managed to purchase a copy of the Cazania lui Varlaam (Iaşi, 1643) from Deseşti, just two years after its publication (1645). According to this note, the man who managed to buy the printing had three sons and two daughters. (Dudaş b 1983, 266-267) In 1699, a copy of the Cazania lui Varlaam (Iaşi 1643) was purchased from Hărniceşti with 21 florins by the local priest together with villager Mihai Brândău and given as alms to the local church. He had six boys and one girl, as the diptych showed. Although the note ended with an anathema against those who would give the book away, only eight years later, the book was bought a second time by the villager Oprea Luca from Vereşmort of the "Vidic Satmar" and given to the church for his relatives' forgiveness and remembrance. He had two daughters, two brothers and three sisters, as it was shown in the diptych. The text signed by Grigore the deacon concludes with an anathema against those who would give the book away. (Dudaş b, 1983, 291-

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292) Only seven years after its publication, the Chiriacodromion, printed in Bucharest in 1732, was bought with 19 florins possible by some brothers "Avram Mircesc and Iosif Mircesc and Stancu, Mircesc and Dragomir Mircesc and Gheorghe Mircesc" and given to the church in Săcel "for their remembrance". (Basarab b, 2001, 41) The owner of the print "Molitvenic", (Râmnic 1758) noted very precisely the date of birth of two of his children, adding the month of the year, the day of the month, the religious holiday, the time "when my daughter Bulata was born, on February 14, a Dragobete day, on a Tuesday towards Wednesday, 7 o'clock, 1835", "when Dumitru my son was born, in the month of December, in the evening, 1839 ". (Mălinaş 1993, 53)

Taking into account the fact that the generosity of the approached subject leaves space to multiple interpretations and evaluations, in the procedure of the historical investigation, the few considerations of the present study, allow us to conclude that, under the impulse of the Reform, both the civil authorities (central and local) and the ecclesiastical one, have stated laws by which they managed the institution of marriage.

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TOMBSTONES AND FUNERAL INVENTORY OBJECTS FROM THE LUTHERAN CEMETERY IN SIBIU (18TH – 19TH CENTURY)

Petre BEŞLIU MUNTEANU*
Ioan ALBU**

Abstract: *The repertoire presents the tombstones and funeral objects from the Lutheran cemetery in Sibiu preserved in the Hospital Church. They cemetery was abandoned at the beginning of the 20th century and destroyed in the communist era. The authors have given some information about the evolution of the Lutheran cemetery since 16th century.*
The tombstones belonged to the carpenters preserve the coat of the guilds arm. The tombstones dated in the 18th – 19th century. The funeral objects are dated at the end of the 19th century.
Keywords*: cemetery, tombstone, Luther, Sibiu, Hospital church, guild.*

Rezumat: *Repertoriul prezintă pietre de mormânt şi piese de inventar funerar din cimitirul evanghelic păstrate azi în Biserica Azilului din Sibiu. Cimitirul evanghelic a fost părăsit la începutul secolului XX şi distrus în era comunistă. Autorii prezintă informaţii despre cimitirul evanghelic aflat în afara zidului de apărare, începând d din secolul al XVI-lea.*
Pietrele de mormânt datate în secolele XVIII-XX, păstrează semnul de meşter al celui decedat. Piesele de inventar funerar aparţin sfârşitului de secol XIX.
Cuvinte cheie*: cimitir, piatră de mormânt, Luther, Sibiu, Biserica Azilului, breaslă.*

The repertoire includes the tombstones and funeral inventory objects from the Lutheran cemetery in Sibiu, topographical and chronological information.
The outside medieval precinct cemetery is dated from the middle of the 16th century, after the plague in 1554. In the *Kirchenvisitationartikel,* published in 1572, we find information about its administration and cleaning (Sigerus 1923, 163).
The first place of the cemetery was a garden outside the precinct. A narrow street came out the *Leichentor* to a terrace bordered by moors and a southern river. In the 18th century, the place of the cemetery was transferred over the river. Later, in 1834, the cemetery was enclosed by a brick stone wall and transformed in a regular cemetery with a chapel built in 1860. Funerary vaults of important local families (Brukenthal, Salmen, Baussner) were added on the southern side of the cemetery in the 19th century (Sigerus 1923, 163-164). The tombstones were historical sources for Emil Sigerus in his book about the history of Sibiu, illustrating the guild coat of arms. In his ethnographical book and in the Engber collection there are pictures inside and at the door of the cemetery. (Photos 24, 25)
The annual report of the Lutheran community on the 1st of December 1907 announced the opening of a new cemetery and new burial rules (*Dreiundzwanzigster Jahrebericht* 1910, 23-24). After that the old cemetery was abandoned and in the 70's of the 20th century it was destroyed.
The catalogue includes 20 tombstones from the old cemetery, first sheltered in the Lutheran Church and in 2007 displayed in the abandoned Asylum Church from Sibiu. Now they are preserved in the same place. The Petru Hertia tombstone was used as a stair in Sibiu, Gen. Magheru Street nr. 1-4. Most of the dated tombstones with inscriptions belonged to carpenters.
Some of the funeral inventory objects were uncovered in the 70's of the 20th century: two crosses, some beads, a war medal ant two more important silver pieces. Claudiu Munteanu from the Museum of History Brukenthal inventoried them. The tombstone pictures were processed by Daniel Baltat. As a result of the technical

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processing some letters of the inscriptions could be deciphered.

THE CATALOGUE

H - High; W - Width; D - Depth; Hl - High of letters.

1. JOHANNES STOIBER's tombstone
Dated: 1763.
Dimensions: H: 89 cm; W: 24 cm; D: 9 cm; Hl: 4 cm.
Description: At the top, the emblem of the shoemakers' guild; bellow the inscription.
Inscription:
IOHANNES / STOIBER / AN(N)O 1763 / DEN 30 IAN / ..
Photo: 1.

2. MARTINUS SPECK's tombstone
Dated: 1771.
Dimensions: H: 170 cm; W: 35 cm; D: 15 cm; Hl: 3,5 - 6 cm.
Description: At the top, in garland the emblem of the knivesmakers' guild; bellow the inscription.
Inscription (distih):
Der Welt Zierd / ist Rosen gleich /
die heut blüht, ist / morgen bleich /
MARTINUS / SPECK, / An(n)o 1771
Photo: 2.

3. ANDREAS GERGER's tombstone
Dated: 1790.
Dimensions: H: 104 cm; W: 31 cm; D: 15 cm; Hl: 4-7 cm.
Description: At the top, the emblem of the tailors' guild; bellow the inscription.
Inscription:
ANDREAS / GERGER / 1790.
Photo: 3.

4. VILLIEP HOLTZLEDNER's tombstone
Dated: 1790.
Dimensions: H: 167 cm; W: 23 cm; D: 14 cm; Hl: 3,5 - 4 cm.
Description: Below, in garland, the emblem of the carpenter's guild.
Inscription:
VILLIEP / HOLTZLEDNER / 1790 / d(ie) 15 MAY.
Photo: 4.

5. MICHAEL KRAUSS' tombstone
Dated: 1790.
Dimensions: H: 104 cm; W: 25 cm; D: 15 cm; Hl: 3,5 - 6 cm.
Description: At the top, the emblem of the shoemakers' guild; above a crown; bellow the inscription.
Inscription:
MICHAEL KRAUSS / 1790.
Photo: 5.

6. IACOB and REGINA KELLER's tombstone
Dated: 1796.
Dimensions: H: 131 cm; W: 35 cm; D: 14 cm; Hl: 3 - 3,5 cm.
Description: In a garland, the emblem of the hatters' guild; above a crown; bellow the inscription.
Inscription:
Hier Ruhet und / Erwartet der / Zukunfft Jesu / Christi / IACOB VND REGINA / KELLER 17//96.
Photo: 6.

7. MICHAEL CZEKELIUS's tombstone
Dated: 1799.
Dimensions: H: 128 cm; W: 26 cm; D: 12 cm; Hl: 5,5-6 cm.
Description: In a garland the emblem of the tailors' guild and a heart between the arms of a scissors; bellow the inscription.
Inscription:
MIC(HAEL) CZEKELI(US) / 1799.
Reused framestone.
Photo: 7.

8. JOHANN HENNING's tombstone
Dated: 1799.
Dimensions: H: 102 cm; W: 23 cm; D: 10 cm; Hl: 3-5 cm.
Description: no decoration
Inscription:
Θ / IOH(ANN) / HENNING / [MA]RK: RICHT(ER) / STARB / 1799.
Photo: 8.

9. PETRUS FACKLER's tombstone
Dated: 1801.
Dimensions: H: 110 cm; W: 33 cm; D: 10,5 cm; Hl: 3cm.
Description: At the top, in a garland, the emblem of the cloth weavers' guild above a crown; bellow the inscription

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Inscription:
PETRUS FACKLER /
HERR ! Wann dann deine / Stim(m)e ruft /
Werden wir aus geschla/fen haben /
Und verkläret durch die Luft /
Fahren auf aus unsrer Grufft /
AN(N)O 1801 die 1sten Aprill /
Dieser Stein bezeichnet / . . Gräber / …
Tombstone painted, 4 distichs.
Photo: 9.

10. GEORG THEIL's tombstone
Dated: 1804 (last letter, unclear).
Dimensions: H: 132 cm; W: 24 cm; D: 15 cm; Hl: 4 cm.
Description: At the top, the emblem of the weavers' guild; bellow the inscription.
Inscription:
GEORG THEIL / DISER STEIN / BEZEIGNET / 3/3 GRÄBER / 1804.
Photo: 10.

11. MICHAEL ZACHARIAS's tombstone
Dated: 1808.
Dimensions: H: 164 cm; W: 23 cm; D: 12 cm; Hl: 2-3 cm.
Description: At the top, the emblem of the tailors' guild; bellow the inscription.
Inscription:
Hier ruht mein / leib in dießer / Gruft, bieß / Jesus Christu[s] / Erwecket mich / MICHAEL / ZACHARIAS / 1808 /
Reused framestone; two holes on the narrow side.
Photo: 11.

12. STEPHANUS DÖRNER's tombstone
Dated: 1810.
Dimensions: H: 116 cm; W: 36 cm; D: 16 cm; Hl: 3-4 cm.
Description: At the top, the emblem of the ropemakers' guild; bellow the inscription.
Inscription:
Ein Herz das / Zärtlich Denckt / und Ruhig Leiden/ kan(n)
Sieht Gräber / ohne Furcht und / ohne Sehnsucht an /
STEPHANUS / DÖRNER / Gebohren 1753 / DEN 9den DECEMB(ER) / gestorben 1810 / DEN 7 APRILL / ALT 50 IAHR 5 MONAHT.
Photo: 12.

13. TOBIAS WACHMAN's tombstone
Dated: 1814.
Dimensions: H: 172 cm; W: 25 cm; D: 11 cm; Hl: 2-3 cm.
Description: In the top the emblem of the blacksmiths' guild.
Inscription:
Zum ewigen / andenken vereh/ret Tobias Wachs/man Schmidtmei/ster dieses Grab / nebst Stein / der Löbl(lichen) / Schmidtbruder/schaft, zur Be-/gräbnisz / 1814.
Photo: 13.

14. SAMUEL MOEFERT's tombstone
Dated: 1815.
Dimensions: H: 155 cm; W: 40 cm; D: 12 cm; Hl: 3-4 cm.
Description: At the top, in a garland, the emblem of the butchers' guild, above a crown; bellow the inscription.
Inscription:
Mensch bestelle dein / Haus / denn du must sterben /
SAMUEL MOEFERT / 1815.
Photo: 14.

15. MICHAEL BLEIN's tombstone
Dated: 1818.
Dimensions: H: 61 cm; W: 17 cm; D: 8 cm; Hl: 4 cm.
Description: At the top, the emblem of the shoemakers' guild; bellow the inscription.
Inscription:
MICHAEL / BLEIN / DEN(ATUS) 8 / MÄRTZ / 1818
Framestone reused.
Photo: 15.

16. WEAVER GUILD's tombstone
Dated: 1829.
Dimensions: H: 81 cm; W: 33 cm; D: 10 cm; Hl: 4 cm.
Description: At the top, the emblem of the weaver' guild; bellow the inscription.
Inscription:
Ruhe Stätte / der Ehrsamen / Muselin und Lein=Weber /

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Bruderschaft / 1829.
Photo: 16.

17. PETRUS BÖHM's tombstone
Dated: 1847.
Dimensions: H: 134 cm; W: 18 cm; D: 11 cm; Hl: 3-4,5 cm.
Description: At the top, the emblem of the masons' guild; bellow the inscription.
Inscription:
Petrus / Böhm / 1847.
Photo: 17.

18. JOHANN SCHEMEL's tombstone
Dated: 1869.
Dimensions: H: 138 cm; W: 24 cm; D: 11 cm; Hl: 3-4 cm.
Description: In a garland, the emblem of the hatters' guild; above a crown; bellow the inscription.
Inscription:
Ruhestätte / des / JOH(ANN) / SCHEM(M)EL / Hutmacher / Meister / 1869.
Framestone reused.
Photo: 18.

19. PETRU HERTIA's tombstone
Dated: 1871.
Dimensions: H: 174 cm; W: 46 cm; D: 9 cm; Hl: 2-3 cm.
Description: Down, the flowers; upside, the inscription.
Inscription (with italics):
Aici odichnesce in Domnul / nostru / ISUS CHRISTUS / PETRU HERTIA / nascut la anul 1811 Februarie 22 si reposat la anul 1871 Aprilie 14 dim/preuna cu sotia sa MARIA / nascuta la anul 1810 Novembre / 30 si reposata la anul 1878 Decem/bre in 7, dimpreuna cu tóta Familia / spre vecinica lor pomenire. / Fie numele Domnului binecu-/ventat de acum si pana in veac.
Bad preserved.
Photo: 19.

20. JOHANN MICHAEL EBER's tombstone
Undated: late 18th century
Dimensions: H: 158 cm; W: 30,5 cm; D: 11 cm; Hl: 2-3 cm.
Description: At the top the emblem of the tanners' guild; above a crown. The name above a scull with two crossed bones (memento mori); in the middle the inscription.
Inscription:
Hier / schläft (?) d. . . / . . . Ruhe / . . . seine Tage / Voll geweyht / Hir ruht Seelig / HEr MICH(AEL) EBER.
Photo: 20.

21. MEDAL WITH RINGS
Dated: 19th century
Silver < 30,6 gr.
Description: medal with 13 rings. On the side (AVERS): Saint George killing the dragon and inscription:
S.GEORGIUS EQUITUM PATRONUM;
on the other side, image with S. George in the boat and inscription:
TEMPESTATE SECURITAS.
Inv. Nr. National Brukenthal Museum, M9033.
Photo: 21.

22. MEDAL
Dated: 19th century.
Silver, 2, 46 gr; diametres: 4,5 X 2 cm.
Description: Medal with Mary the Virgin with the inscription. On one side:
MARIA CONCEPTA PREGATE PER NOI (CHE) A VOI RICORIAMO...
on the other side the cross and the letter M (MARIA) below.
Inv. nr. National Brukenthal Museum, M9035.
Photos: 22, 23.

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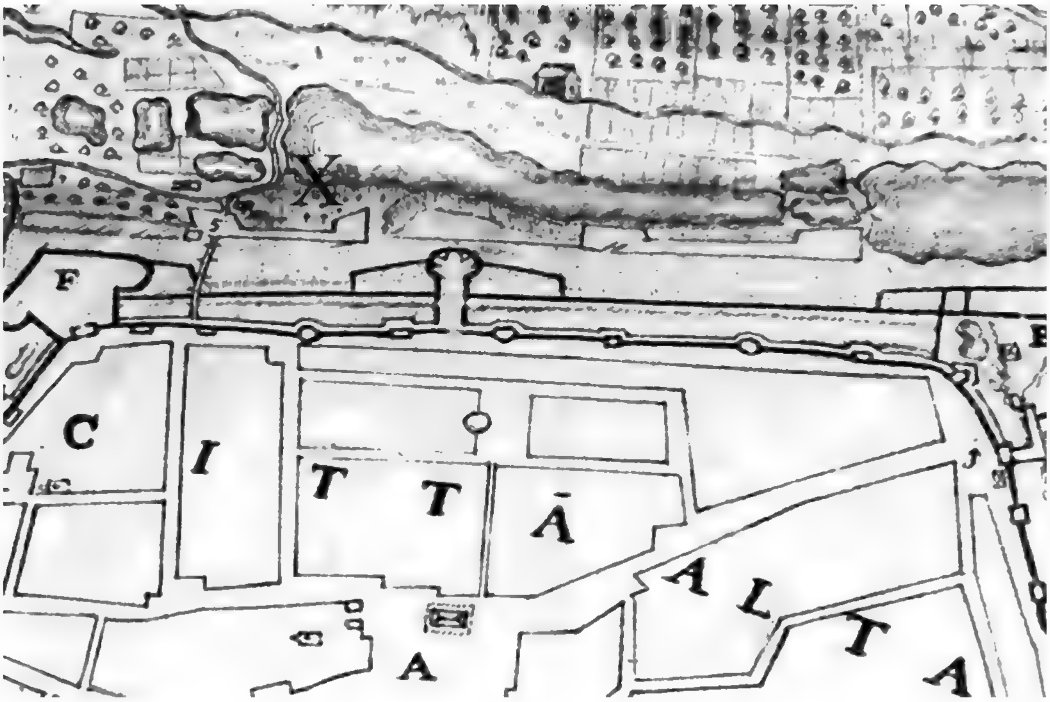
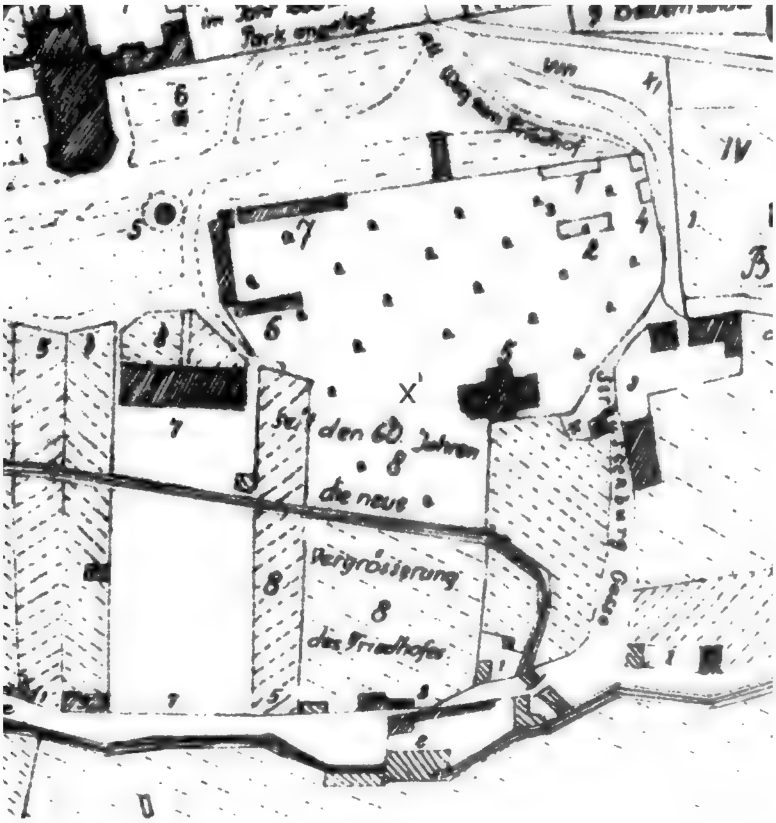


Pl. I



Pl. II

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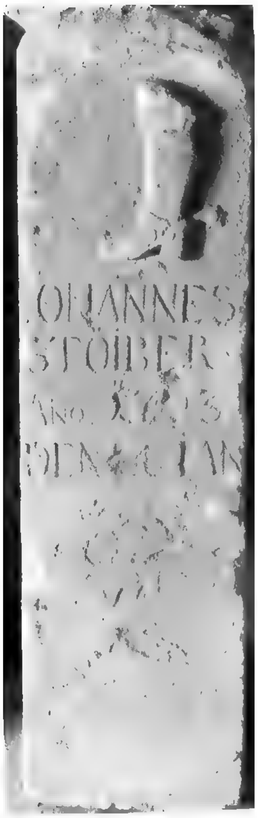

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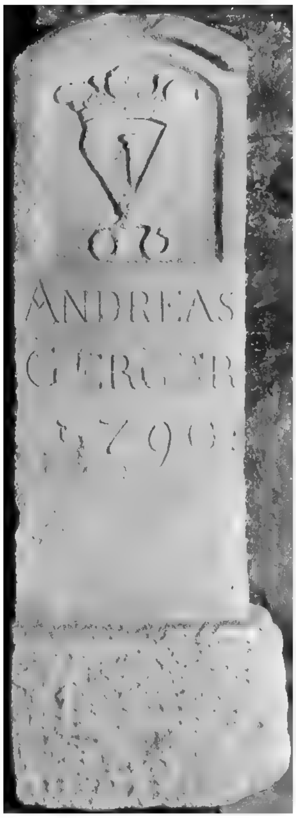

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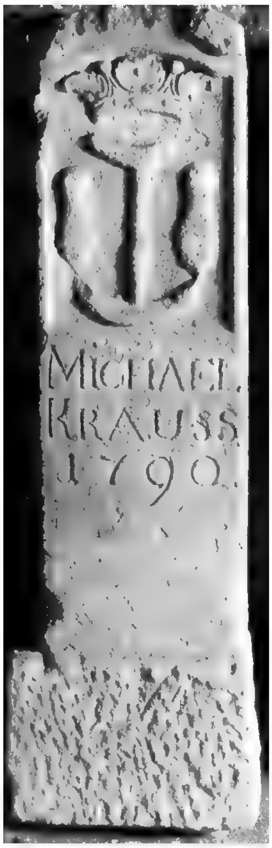

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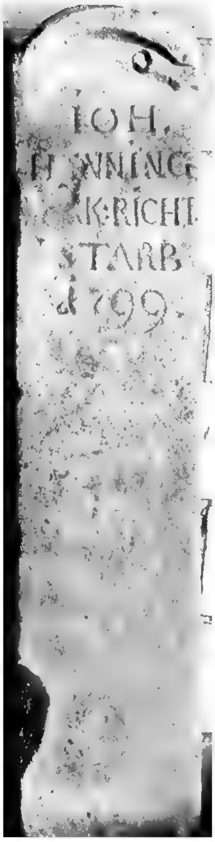

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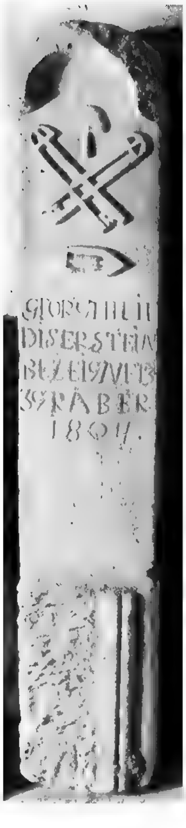

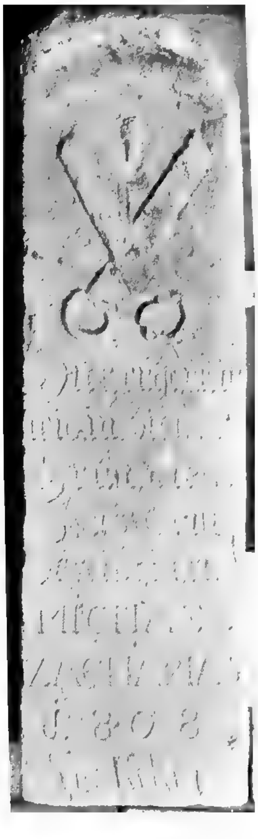

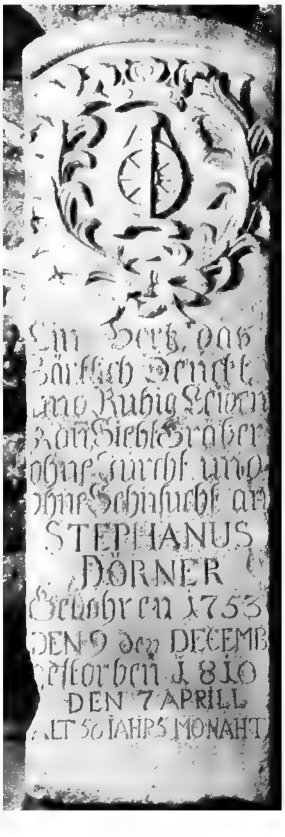

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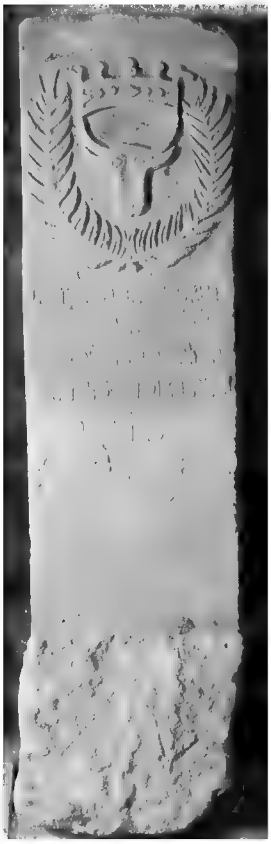

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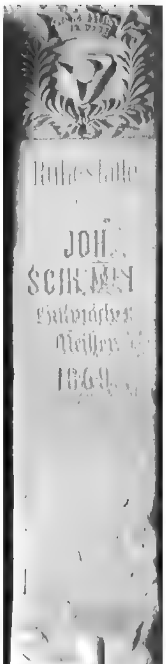

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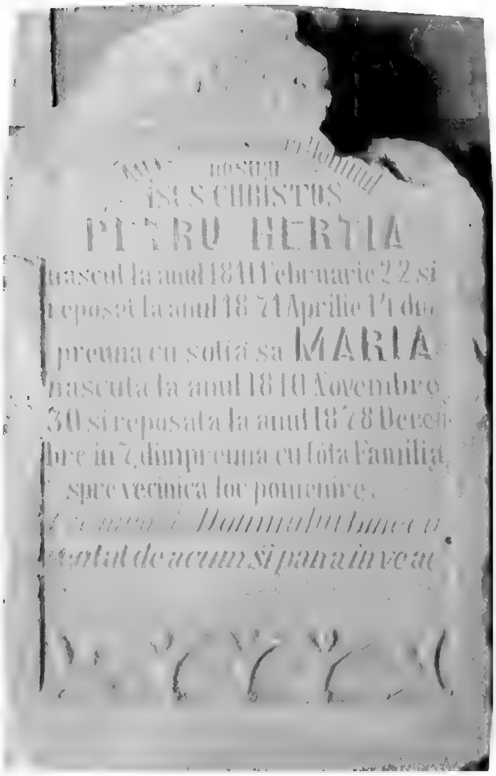

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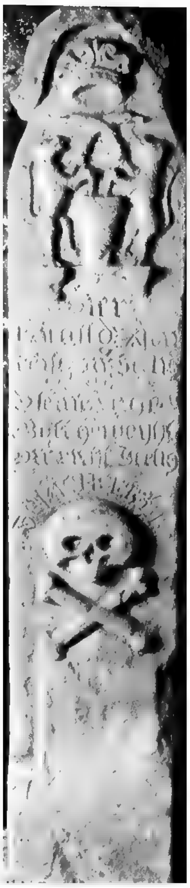

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HERITAGE VALUES IN THE GRAPHIC COLLECTION OF THE NATIONAL HISTORY MUSEUM OF TRANSYLVANIA FROM CLUJ-NAPOCA*

Claudia M. BONŢA**

***Abstract**: The present study intends to offer general data regarding The Graphic Collection of the National History Museum of Transylvania presenting some of the works belonging to the Collection, by artists from 17th to 19th centuries who approaches different themes like landscape, portrait, genre scene, allegorical or mythological scenes, caricatures as well as the book illustration. Our research presents briefly large series of prints, some of the artists with short biographical notes and comments. By presenting this essay we meant to illustrate the great richness of the heritage values from Cluj's Museum.*
***Keywords**: collection, engraving, lithography, prints*

***Rezumat**: Studiul de faţă a fost realizat cu intenţia de a oferi o privire de ansamblu asupra Colecţiei grafice a Muzeului Naţional de Istorie a Transilvaniei, prin prezentarea patrimoniului grafic semnat de artişti din secolele XVII-XIX, aparţinând unor genuri diverse: peisaj, portret, scene de gen, alegorii, scene mitologice, caricaturi sau ilustraţie de carte. Lucrarea prezintă succinct câteva serii de stampe şi unii dintre autori cu scurte note biografice şi observaţii. Scopul acestui demers îl reprezintă ilustrarea valorosului patrimoniu aflat în posesia muzeului clujean.*
***Cuvinte cheie**: colecţie, gravură, litografie, stampe*

The valuable Graphic Collection of the National History Museum of Transylvania is distinguished by the 17th-19th centuries stamps, works of famous European artists. The museum's collection is made up of international art, including all periods of European art since the 17th century, and comprises more than 1,100 engravings, etchings, lithographs, drawings, book illustrations and plans. The origins of the collection lie mainly in private donations and this particularity is widely reflected in its heterogeneity. Donors and art patrons have played a key role in the museum's history. Of these, the association known as *Ardelean Museum Society* is the most important. Created one hundred and fifty years ago, it has purchased a considerable number of works from all periods and schools, many of exceptional artistic value. Each of the 1,100 engravings, some of which are albums, has been incorporated into specific groups, depending on its typology and historical period. There is not such thing as a distinctly favourite theme or period of the collection but series of prints, ranging from the 17th century aristocratic portraits, to genre scenes of bourgeois interiors occurred in the 18th century, and to the 19th century important revolutionary events, following the spirit of the times, through the cult of personalities, the family values and the nationalist fervour. The Collection covers a wide thematic range: portraits, landscapes, genre scenes, allegorical scenes, caricatures or duplications of the work of the masters. Picturesque veduta or exotic landscapes outlines distant worlds, sometimes completed by presentations of costumes; brilliantly engraved portraits of notable personalities can be found alongside acidic caricatures. Wonderfully drawn vignettes or plain book illustrations coexist with duplications of the work of the masters. Visual documents, adding historical significance to stamps or allegorical scenes, subjectless capriccios and conventional subjects are also part of the museum graphic collection. The German, Italian, and Hungarian schools are most strongly represented, with fine works also by French, British, and Flemish or Dutch masters.

Seventeenth century is represented in Cluj museum's collection mainly by portraits of important personalities of the ancient and medieval times. Engraving study offers a series of individual portraits representing the members of the nobility, a number of physiognomies illustrating representative human types for the aristocracy of the seventeenth century. Important personalities of the time, people who left their mark on society

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benefited, in their turn, of a number of celebration portraits that evoke princes, military commanders, senior officials and prelates: *Nicolaus Zrinio* of Dalmatia, Croatia and Slavonia, *Adam Forgacs of Gymes*, count of Novigrad, 1651, *Benedictus Kisdy*, bishop of Eger, 1650, colonel *Wenceslaus Zaredek* 1646, *Andreas Izdenczy*, 1648, *Georgius Lippay of Zombor*, archbishop of Strigoniu, 1651, colonel *Marco Capilet*, 1646, *Ioannes Palfalvai*, 1651, colonel *Martinus Pachonhay*, 1649, *etc.*, portraits signed by Elias Widemann. Egidius Sadeler is the author of another series of portraits: *Georgius Thurzo de Bethlemffalva*, count of Árva, 1607, *Ferdinand Kollonich*, count of Komárom, 1607, *etc.* Anonymous portraits commemorate particular individuals like *Michael the Brave*, emperor *Leopold I* or archiduke *Maximilan.* In accordance with the European art of the moment, the engravings are executed after the same pattern, belonging to the aristocratic portrait type of the époque, therefore the obvious compatibility of the images. Baroque interest for the concept of group portrait is fully illustrated by several engravings, like *Double portrait of Albert and Nicolaas Rubens* (1627) after P. P. Rubens or *Family portrait*, after Gonzales Coques.

Regarding the theme, a series of book illustrations made after Jacques de Sève's[1] drawings by French engravers - P. F. Tardieu, Le Villain, de Lignon *etc.* are valuable examples of the genre: rectangular cartridges trimmed with vegetal garlands including various compositions with putty, animals or birds dispensed between other distracting details. Sacred subjects, religious scenes from the lives and legends of the saints, biblical episodes and especially *The Virgin with child* are among favourite themes, with some artistic peaks like *Virgin with Donors* (1630) after A.Van Dyck. Genre scenes are represented by *The lute player* (after Orazio Gentileschi), *At the blacksmith*, and a series of reproductions of moralizing topics *The king drinks* (after Jacob Jordaens, 1638-40), *Card players at candlelight* (after Gerrit Dou), *The bitter draught* (after Adriaen Brouwer, c. 1635) *etc.* Engravings on mythological subjects (*Nymps bathing*), several landscapes and city plans (Vienna), and some historical events presentation such as battle scenes, complete the range of topics of the period.

Among the authors stand out the Flemish artists Egidius Sadeler[2], Lucas Vorsterman[3], Paul Pontius[4], the German Elias Widemann[5] and the French Charles Audran[6]. As we already underlined, the seventeenth century collection is particularly strong in portraits; the engravings made in 1638 after Rubens's drawings depicting ancient portraits of personalities retain the attention: the portraits of *Platon*, *Seneca*, and *Marcus Iunius Brutus* (by Lucas Vorsterman), those of *Socrate*, *Sofocle*, and *Nero* (by Paul Pontius).

The rococo passion for genre scenes is visibly reflected in eighteenth's century graphic collection, thematically dominated by idyllic or pompous subjects, typically for the French rococo: narrative

[1] Jacques de Sève (1742-1788) was a French artist, illustrator and engraver (see Thieme, Becker, 1907-1950, vol. XXX, p. 543).

[2] Egidius (Aegidius, Giles) Sadeler (1560-1629), designer and engraver, was a member of the Sadeler family, the nephew and the disciple of John Sadeler and Raphael Sadeler. Born at Antwerp in 1570 surpassed his instructors in taste and freedom of stroke. He moved to Italy and set up shop in Venice. In 1598 he was summoned to Prague where he became imperial engraver in the service of the emperor Rudolf II who assigned him a pension. He enjoyed the protection of the two succeeding emperors, Mathias and Ferdinand II. His plates are very numerous, representing historical subjects, portraits, landscapes. He died at Prague (see Bryan, Stanley, 1865, p. 742; Witcombe, 2004, p. 194-197).

[3] Lucas Vorsterman (1595-1675) was a native of Antwerp, where he learned the principles of drawing and engraving. His works are very numerous, on different subjects, and a great variety of admirable portraits from Rubens, Van Dyck and other masters. Vorsterman entered Rubens's studio to study painting, but was diverted quite early in his career to the practice of engraving. He engraved successfully from the pictures of Rubens. His work shows a brilliance of technique and the assimilation of the master's style (see Strutt, 1786, p. 401-402; Hind, 1923, p. 126).

[4] Paul Pontius (1603-1653) Vorsterman's pupil, native of Antwerp. He completed his studies under the direction of Rubens, who employed him to engrave many of his most capital paintings. One of the earliest engravers to owe his artistic training to the master Rubens, the most skilful engraver that worked from the paintings of Rubens (see Strutt, 1786, p. 240-241; Hind, 1923, p. 126-127).

[5] Elias Widemann (1619-1652), German engraver. He engraved a very large number of portraits of illustrious personages, frontispieces, and other book-plates, from his own designs (see Strutt, 1786, p. 418).

[6] Charles Audran (1594-1674), French engraver, the first of the family of Audran that became eminent in this art. He travelled in Rome for improvement and on returning to France he settled in Paris where he had great success (see Spooner, 1867, p. 50-51).

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scenes developed in bourgeois interiors or country farms described in daily life routine, with richly detailed backgrounds. Sentimental subjects like *The acceptance of marriage proposal* after N. C. Picic, *The first lesson of fraternal love* or *The liberty of the poacher* after Charles Benarech are widely appreciated, overall because these scenes offer a greater sense of drama, typical for the rococo style, developing secular genre such as still life, genre paintings of everyday scenes. Allegorical themes are represented by several top creations like *The wise virgins and the foolish virgins* engraved by Johann Elias Haid[7] in 1782, or the original series of allegorical representations of European monarchies and of the Roman Church papacy, an invitation to a symbolical reading of the ecclesiastic and secular power: *Colossus Monarchicus*, *Statua Regum Europaeorum*, *Pontificum Romanorum*, by the geographer Tobias Conrad Lotter[8]. The fascination of the *Dance of the Death* theme inspired by some medieval allegories, Holbein's designs (1523-1526) and Rudolf and Conrad Meyer's *Sterbenspiegel* (1650) was able to provide to the collection the series of elaborated and decorative depictions of the *Dance Macabre* in book illustration by Michael Heinrich Rentz, *Geistliche Todts-Gedancken* (1753), a series of most intriguing engravings providing a strong emotional impact over the viewer. There are no winners in this dance, only victims facing the triumphant Death: despite the wealth, the power or any kind of skills, all men will die. Able to fix in the mind of the beholders of this work the *memento mori* idea, the images are persuading one to focus on the perspective of afterlife, an invitation on facing the ever-present death, suggesting an appropriate conduct during lifetime.

Hunting scenes and compositions showing different animals in the nature, engravings by the German Johann Elias Riedinger[9] were also very popular. Important events of the period are also celebrated in battle scenes (*The fall of Bastille, The Grand Attack on Valenciennes*), scenes of public ceremonies (*Couronnement du Voltaire*) or official portraits (*Georgius II Rex Magni Britannia*).

A special place belongs to mythological etchings after the paintings of the Swiss artist Angelica Kauffmann: *Venus and the Graces*, *The gift of Paris for Venus*, *Separation of Abelard by Eloisa*, and *Death of Eloisa*. Light silhouettes set into round medallions depict Kauffmann's interpretation of the text, focusing particularly on scenes of emotional struggle. Appealing to the viewers' own sensibility, provoking emotions, the scenes are depicted in a contemplative manner with some lyric accents. In spite of a certain degree of rigour and formalism, the elegance, the softness and the grace prevail as the principal features of the compositions.

The collection holds notable genre satirical works signed by the famous British artist William Hogarth,[10] *Strolling actress in a barn*, 1738, describing a troupe preparing for a theatrical representation, *A midnight modern conversation*, 1730, treats the drinking problems, showing a group of male protagonists in a state of inebriation gathered at some London club, and the entire cycle of the four moments of the day – *Morning, Noon, Evening, Night*. The set of prints that William Hogarth published in 1738 after his series of paintings *The Four Times of the Day* are mirror images of the four pictures completed in 1736. They depict in a humorous manner scenes of daily life in various locations in London at morning, noon, evening and night. The fascinate voyage in time speaks about a picturesque London, always realistic (Bonţa, 2010).

Landscapes, very popular and well represented in the canvasses of the era find their place in the engraving issuing, represented either as background for various stamps, or through independent images, especially in urban views, Arcadian landscapes or wet panoramic *vedutas* inspired by Canaletto and signed by Giovanni Battista Brustoloni[11]: *Canal Grande, San Giorgio Church from Venice*. Images inspired by some important Italian cities are presented in

[7] Johann Elias Haid (1739-1809), son and scholar of Johann Jakob Haid, born and died at Augsburg. He engraved a great number of plates, the majority being portraits of celebrated Germans (see Waller *et al.* 1857, p. 773).

[8] Tobias Conrad Lotter (1717-1777), author of *Atlas Novus* (1772), cartographer from Augsburg, the son-in-law of the famous cartographer and instrument maker Mattheus Seutter, which he succeeded in his business (see Kanas, 2007, p. 171).

[9] Johann Elias Riedinger (1695-1767), painter, copperplate engraver born in Ulm, died in Augsburg. Author of a great number of plates, specialized in equestrian, hunting and animal subjects (see Becker, Görling, 1865, p. 174; Praeger, 1958, p. 342).

[10] William Hogarth (1697-1764) British painter and engraver (see Hogarth, Nichols, 1833).

[11] Giovanni Battista Brustoloni (born c. 1726), Italian engraver born in Venice. He engraved portraits and *vedute* of Venice after Canaletto (see Bryan, 1886, p. 187; Thieme, Becker, 1907-1950, vol. V, p. 151-152).

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documentary landscapes: *Genoa*, *Padua*, *Palermo*, *Napoli, Rome*.

The nineteenth century engravings constitute the great strength of the museum's collection being the period most richly represented. Among the authors, artists who focus their talents on the creation of stamps are some renowned engravers: the German artists Johann Woelfﬂe[12], Whilliam Unger[13], Ludwig Rohbock[14], Adam Franz[15], and the British Alfred Henry Payne[16]. The collection includes a rich trove of nineteenth century Hungarian (from Hungary or Transylvania) works, by Szabó János[17], Lehnhardt Sámuel[18], Magyari Lajos[19], Marastoni József[20] *etc*. (Mitu, 2000-2001). The most important Hungarian painter for the Romantic era, Barabás Miklós (1810-1898), is represented by valuable stamps such as: *Wesselényi Miklós* (1837), *Kemény Dénes* (1837), count *Teleki József* (1837), count *Széchenyi István* (1838), *Szontagh Gusztáv* (1847), *Degré Alajos* (1854), *Munkácsy Flóra* (1856), *Prielle Cornélia* (1858), madam *Hegedűs-Bodenburg Lina* (1858), *Reményi Ede* (1860), *Forinyák Géza* (1860), count *Mikó Imre* (1874) *etc*. Barabás Miklós was a popular portrait painter: since the series of truthful, vivid portraits captured the exact likenesses along with the subject's physiognomy in impressive, realistic and formal poses, his paintings are considered precise records of contemporary personalities. Other important example is the famous Transylvanian painter and illustrator Carol Popp de Szathmáry (1812-1887), with a number of Transylvanian vedutas.

This period has impressive concentrations of portraits and landscapes and a magnetic concern regarding the Revolution of 1848. Generally the nineteenth century European history is strongly built among the thrilling evolution of the concept of the nationality as the main influence in this area, and the nineteenth century collection is strongly built around the 1848 events. The important personalities of this era are presented in a large number of effigies, series of physiognomies illustrating various poses. Hungarian revolutionary's elite or obscure, long forgotten characters, appear in dozen portraits reminding the nationalist passions of the time. The group portraits of series of Hungarian leaders or members of some revolutionary governs, frequently with lists of names, testify about the Hungarian artists efforts for the posterity of the revolution. The conception and execution resemblance in rendering these portraits is visible through the similarities in attitude, typology and the general aspect of the characters presenting controlled and stiff gestures, conventional faces having an absent look under a general note of austerity. Presented in "natural size" or bust portraits, these stamps present an historical interest, having a documentary value regarding the Romantic imagery of the period: *Kossuth Lajos*, *Schveidel Josef*, *Knezics Károly*, *Lázár Vilmos*, *Szacsvay Imre*, *Batthyány Lajos*,

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[12] Johann Woelfﬂe (1807-1893), German lithographer active in Munich (see Heller, 1850, p. 835; Ziegler, 1985, p. 281).

[13] William Unger (1837-1932), German copperplate engraver (see *Művészeti Lexikon*, vol. IV, p. 609).

[14] Ludwig Rohbock (1824-1893), German artist, author of a great number of plates, specialized in landscapes. Author (with Hunfalvy Janos) of *Magyarország és Erdély képekben*, 1856-1864. (see Gronen, 2002, p. 147).

[15] Franz Adam (1815-1886), German painter who came to the fore by the series dedicated to the Italian revolution of 1848-1849 and the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-1871. Familiar with the artistic environment since he was little, Franz Adam was the son of Albrecht Adam, (1786-1862), German painter born in Nördlingen, established in Munich, specialized in animal paintings - scenes of hunting and horses, and military themes, battles and fight scenes. Albrecht served as master for his sons who were disciples and collaborators and his two specialities will be followed by the next two generations of his family, by his sons and grandsons. In 1848-1849 Albrecht and his sons Franz and Eugen are with Austrian troops in Italy, this being reflected in several canvases dedicated to the battles in First Italian War of Independence (see Nagler, 1835-1852, vol. I, p. 15-18; Meyer, 1872, p. 65-73; Clement, 1879, p. 3-4; Müller, 1921, p. 5-7; Thieme, Becker, 1907-1950, vol. I, p. 61; Champlin, 2010, p. 8-9; *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*; *Brockhaus Konversationlexicon*).

[16] Albert Henry Payne (1812-1902), was born in London where he learned the artisan trade of steel engraving and settled in Leipzig in 1839 where he worked as a painter and illustrator. He died in Leipzig (see Thieme, Becker, 1907-1950, vol. XXVI, p. 325).

[17] Szabó János (1784-1851), painter from Transylvania, specialized in portraits (see *Művészeti Lexikon*, 1965-1968, vol. IV, p. 398-399).

[18] Lenhardt Sámuel (1790-1840), Hungarian engraver, illustrator and lithographer, author of portraits and landscapes. His work was published mainly in "*Tudományos Gyűjtemény*" review (see *Művészeti Lexikon*, 1965-1968, vol. III, p. 46).

[19] Magyari Lajos (middle of 19th century), Hungarian lithographer, active in 1840-1860 at "*Kis követ*" review from Cluj, author of lithographed portraits of princes and governors of Transylvania (see *Művészeti Lexikon*, 1965-1968, vol. III, p. 141).

[20] Marastoni József (1834-1895), Hungarian painter and lithographer, specialized in historical subjects (see *Művészeti Lexikon*, 1965-1968, vol. III, p. 239).

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Dessewffy Aristid, Kiss Ernő, etc. National fervour of the time also appears in the series of lithographs devoted to highlights of Hungarian history from the time of Matia Corvin, Ioan Zapolya, Francisc Rakoczy, *etc.* or in prints dedicated to the governors of Transylvania, usually made after paintings from that era: *Iancu of Hunedoara, Matia Corvin* (by Marastoni Jozsef, 1855, after Pensz György), guvernor *Gheorghe Bánffy* (by Szabó János), groupages of portraits of the princes of Transylvania (by Magyari Lajos). The feminine portraits are fewer but more expressive and vivid, particularly through hairstyle and elaborate clothing, fancy toilets and costumes, ballet dresses: *Fanny Elfsler, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, Aranyvári Emilia etc.* Famous characters of literature like *Romeo and Juliet, Ophelia*, have their imaginary portraits alongside two portraits of the French emperor, *Napoleon.*

Satirical works caricaturizing the political life in Hungarian space during the 19th century provides a caustic look at the political topics of the period, sharing with ironic activism the political problems of the day, punishing political vices and bad social behaviour.

Romantic taste for fantastic topics, with nymphs and other fabulous creatures ignite the romantic imagination (*The nymph, Resting Nymph*) and contrasts sharply with the realistic genre scenes depicting subjects drawn from common life showing working peasants or fashionable urban families, moments of everyday life: *Grandma's beloved, After lunch, The sleeping children.*

Increased interest in nature and in distant lands is shown by picturesque and exotic landscapes. Artists approach in different ways the landscape, one of engraving's favourite genres, and they describe wild nature, romantic landscapes, lush forests loaded with vegetation, seascapes, touristic vedutas often populated by the inhabitants of the depicted regions. Arcadian landscapes with ancient ruins, majestic views over palaces, general panorama or architectural descriptions of buildings and street views, frequently materialize in popular cityscapes. Among the large number of landscapes two major series emerges: those signed by Ludwig Rohbock and those belonging to Alfred Henry Payne. Firstly, two albums from Zsigmond Reiner Collection, engravings depicting the Transylvanian and Hungarian spaces, drawn by Ludwig Rohbock for the volume *Magyarország és Erdély képekben* (*Hungary and Transylvania in images*), edited between 1856-1864 at Darmstadt, an introduction in a picturesque area, captured with great precision and rendered with highly, almost topographic accuracy. One of the traveller artists of the 19th century, Rohbock put down sketches and drawings transforming his voyages along Hungary and Transylvania in valuable documents of the period. We recognize familiar places, well-known villages or settlements, emblematic buildings, all described in the last century ambiance: city views of Alba-Iulia, Braşov, Cisnădioara, Deva, Făgăraş, Hunedoara, Sibiu, Sebeş, Sfântu-Gheorghe, Şiria, Şumuleu-Ciuc, the fortifications of Râşnov or Prejmer, the Bran, Luncani or Gerend castels, the bath from Mehadia and Vâlcele, spectacular views of Cheile Turzii or Turnu Roşu, *etc.* (Bonţa, 2009). Other vedutas are describing the Hungarian space of the time, including Slovakia, completing an interesting graphic itinerary for central Europe: Buda, Ofen, Pressburg, Miskolcz, Vacz, Rosenau, Kirchdorf, Kaschau, *etc.*

The other major series, a mini-collection with significant weight in museum's graphic heritage is represented by Alfred Henry Payne's eclectic portfolio, part of the paper *Payne's Universum*, a work comprising dozens of heterogeneous engravings typical for the public taste of the mid 19th century. Cluj's Museum Collections shelters several dozens of engravings from *Payne's Universum*, depicting a large range of subjects. Characterized through originality, lack of unity and coherence, the paper presents portraits of political and cultural personalities in medallions, borders and frames richly adorned with some animal figures, geometric shapes or different floral decorations - *Goethe, Robert Burns, Eugene Sue, Duke of Wellington, G. E. Lessing, Felicien David* ; exotic views - *Natives of Brazil, Singapore, Niagara Falls, New York City Hall, Boston, Winter palace Saint Petersburg*; a large series of European landscapes - *Palermo Cathedral, Scala of Milano, Barcelona, Trieste*; genre scenes and compositions - *Little navigators, Fisherman's children, Think of me, Lizzy, The Altenburg woman*; specimens from famous artists and well-known masters - *The Hermit* after Gerard Dow, *The Man of Letters* after Francis Mieris, *The Lace-Worker* after Gabriel Metsu.

The Austrian influence on Transylvanian area is betrayed by several portraits of the emperor Franz-Joseph at different ages, young or old, in bust portrait or "natural size", and by the numerous stamps dedicated to several important historical events of the Empire. Among these, the *portfolio* containing a long series of lithographs describing the Austrian army in Italy, on battle scenes from

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the campaigns during the first Italian war of independence, 1848-1849, by the Bavarian Franz Adam. The stamps provide to the posterity a series of sincere, relevant stories, which form a realistic picture of this important moment in the history of the Italian people. The realism that Franz Adam uses to describe the situation and the dramatic power of the scenes result in a visual military history that has managed to avoid the patriotic tone and focused on the human dimension of the conflict: *Scene aus dem den Strassen zu Mailand im März 1848, Vicenza den 10 Juni 1848, Auszug nach der Capitulation von Vicenza am 11 Juni 1848, Sommacampagna am 23 Juli 1848, Schlacht von Custozza am 25 Juli 1848, Reitergefecht bei Volta am 27 Juli 1848, Vor Mailand am 4 August 1848, Der Uebergang der kaiserl königl österreichischen Armee über den Tessino bei Pavia den 20 März 1849, Mortara den 21 März 1849, Schlacht von Novarra am 24 März 1849, Die Unterredung des Feldmarchals Graf Radetzky und des Königs Victor Emanuel von Piemont zum Abschluss des Waffenstillstandes nach der Schlacht von Novarra. Vignole am 24 März 1849, Observatorium am Telegraphenthurme in Mestre am 4ten Mai 1849, Verposten in den Lagunen bei der Belagerung von Venedig bei Campalto, Innere Ansicht des Forts Malghera am Tage der Einnahme den 23 Mai 1849.*

An important part of the nineteenth century collection is made by the reproduction of works of world art masters. Engravers work reminded to the public the artists of past centuries spreading their work through prints, valuating masterpieces of the art and spreading cultural education. It is the case of David Teniers (*Country Dutch cabaret* or *Gluttony*, *Dance at the Inn*), Frans Snyders (*Wild boars hunting*, *The lioness* by J. Woelffle), Gerard Terborch (*Paternal admonition, Lady at her toilet*), Joshua Reynolds (*The snake in the grass*), Rembrandt (*Jesus in front of Pilate*), Bartolomé Esteban Murillo (*Portrait of a Man*), Jean-Antoine Watteau (*Pilgrimage to the island of Cythera*) etc.

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Our study attempts a concise review of a remarkable collection. With this paper, we have, as far as possible, endeavoured to illustrate the quality of historical and artistic heritage from The National History Museum of Transylvania, providing the reader a general perspective on The Graphic Collection, introducing its values to the European context of culture. Showing a complete panorama of the graphic arts, The Collection covers a wide thematic range, captured by local artisans or masters of the universal art, being a revealing and fascinating anthology of past centuries. Extraordinary in quality and exhaustive in scope, The Graphic Collection houses an abundance of information in images about the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries still waiting to be revealed to the public.

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THEORIES ON THE CONSTRUCTION AND RE-CONSTRUCTION OF TRANSYLVANIAN CULTURAL IDENTITY

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Abstract: *These are just some characteristics of the construction process of Transylvanian cultural identity, found in some theories, debates, past and relatively recent problematizations that I highlighted briefly in order to resume in a new reading the regional, national and European history which could be also to identify and recognize cultural ambivalences pre-existent to the modern statehood. As already mentioned, the definition of Transylvanian has been and has remained a source of controversy, but that does not precludes alternative historico-theoretical evaluations.*
Keywords: *identity, Transylvania, Romanians , Szeklers, Saxons, modernity, postmodernity*

Rezumat: *Această lucrare prezintă sintetic câteva particularităţi ale procesului construirii identităţii culturale transilvănene, regăsite în unele teorii, dezbateri, problematizări trecute şi relativ recente, pe care le-am trecut succint în evidenţă ca motiv al reluării unei noi lecturi a istoriilor regionale, naţionale şi europene care ar putea fi şi acela de a identifica şi recunoaşte ambivalenţele culturale preexistente statalităţii moderne. După cum s-a mai afirmat, definirea Transilvaniei a fost şi rămâne un prilej de controverse, dar aceasta nu împiedică evaluările istorico-teoretice alternative.*
Cuvinte cheie: *identitate, Transilvania, români, secui, saşi, modernitate, postmodernitate*

Modernity and postmodernity in the approach process of the Transylvanian cultural identity issue

The construction of the Romanian state in the area between the Balkan Peninsula and Central Europe involved the inclusion of a variety of regions and amalgamation of cultural and civilizational values, that is why examining the past and redefining the cultural paradigm of today requires not only a knowledge of the political, geographical and spiritual details, but also the disclosure of the impact over time of the set of values which have formed the individual and community marks. It is entitled a review of Romania's characteristics, respectively its cultural and political identity.

The reason for a new reading of regional, national and European history, may be also to identify and recognize the cultural ambivalences prior to the modern statehood. Defining Europe was and still is an occasion of controversy, but this does not prevent the historical-theoretical alternative assessments.
A political thinking articulated under the aspirations of today and tomorrow will study the socio-cultural realities of the past for the benefit of future project, will promote comprehension of history according to the new paradigm of social sciences and humanist creations.

From such a determination were born the questions: When did the idea of modernity arise to Romanians? What was the role of the Enlightenment in the formation of cultural references of the Romanian society? How can we explain the old and constants differences between the set of values professed in Romanian social environments and the set of values that Western society is built upon? In the Romanian and Central South East European case, is it about an amalgamation of Enlightenment and Romantic ideas? What are the main source of literary, philosophical and political Romanian modern intelligentsia? Which is the meaning of notions like freedom and equality in the Romanian political discourse? What model of state did the Romanian elites adopted on the threshold and during the transition to modernity? Where from did the ambivalences of the Romanian culture come and what role they play in defining the national identity?

The first signs of awakening the national consciousness of the Romanians do not happen by chance in this period, they found a motivation to seek equality with their Hungarians, Saxons and Szeklers neighbours. Romanians wanted to be

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applied the natural principle of equal citizenship among individuals, relations between nations and to be accepted the myth of the social contract as the basis for the society as a guarantee of the rights of those who form it. Political power and social privileges were reserved exclusively for members of the three "nations" - meaning by *natio* a group which differed from the masses through different privileges, nationality is not necessarily a criterion of belonging - the nobility in its great majority was Hungarian, Saxon and Székel, and also the four religions "accepted" or constitutional were Roman-Catholic, Calvinist, Lutheran and Unitarian. The historian David Prodan said that in Transylvania there were always distinctions, from the beginning, between the three peoples who named the three nations, but most of the distinctions were made between the Romanians and the rest. As a result of these distinctions, the Romanians also differ culturally, were related to the Roman culture which was in turn related to the Byzantine-Slavic culture, while the other peoples were linked to the Western European culture (Prodan 1984, 102).

The existence of this framework has been heavily involved in the organization and evolution of the Romanian national movement that has long remained in the modern era under the authority of church leaders. But from the exclusion of Romanians among the nations and religions accepted, first as non-nobles, then as not being part of the religions accepted, it was only step one, and afterwards, the total exclusion of their citizenship in the country and reporting them as tolerated, the next step. First of all the Romanians were ethnically different, as their origin, language, customs, beliefs, clothing, being part of the family of roman nations, they certainly distinguished among other cohabiting people. The Reformation was to cause as well the conscience of people, to deepen the separation between the politique nations and the Romanian nation. The separation was now more consciously stimulated directly or indirectly, positively or negatively, by the Reformation itself. Promoting the national language in the church, the Reformation meant the stimulus to introduce the national language, and the Romanian church realised translations, texts, prints in Romanian, it raised through its schools some cultural names as well, stimulating by all these measures the Romanian culture. It also represented an opportunity for the expression of Romanian consciousness in writing. And a general awareness of Romanian solidarity (Prodan 1984, 103).

All this complex of distinctions maintained an awareness of "Romanian people", always present in the process of historical development. Consciousness was culturally manifested in the first cultural Romanian texts on both sides of the Carpathians, though in different intensities.

In the historiography of 18th century Transylvania there are some concerns that have tried to present the different ways to decipher the crystallization process of the national consciousness of the Romanians. The decoding of the genesis of the national consciousness can only be achieved while at the same time deciphering the components of cultural identities.

The national consciousness of Romanians from Transylvania has often been studied in terms of the report church-intellectuals, which in fact considered the process of desacralization suffered by intellectuals. This expresses, at Romanians from Transylvania, the existence of an ecclesiastic institutional framework allowed by the officialdom for the conduct of the public life of Romanians (Hitchins 1987, foreword after Teodor, 17).

The historical development of the Romanian people and its culture has not been broken apart not even for a moment of the historical processes larger in Europe, in particular of their direct or indirect effects in the central and southeast Europe and had not take place in a provincial isolated form away from the rest of the world as it appears at first glance, but in a general dialogue with the historical evolution of this part of Europe, a contact zone between the Orient and the Occident, although the effects of these contacts were made visible dephased, with delay.

The period of the 18th century in Transylvania was characterized by a striking contrast between the way of understanding the world by the majority, composed of peasants, and the elite, still limited, of intellectuals. The rural world of the peasantry was a patriarchal world where traditional practices were interlaced with popular myths and superstitions. The world of intellectuals, mostly priests, could not deny the role of the divinity or its supreme authority over the man, but it conceived the human society to be dynamic, with a value in itself and described a theory of how human society develops and how intellectuals could contribute to this process. In the decoding process of genesis of the national consciousness is to be noted the special role of the culture of the Enlightenment in improving the index of culture in society, and, consequently, in the crystallization of the new national ethnic solidarity, as it was surprised by the

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American historian Keith Hitchins in the book entitled the Idea of Nation, in the chapter of the Enlightenment (Hitchins 1987, preface after Teodor, 16).

The evolution of the national consciousness and the modern national ideology can be followed from the work of bishop Ioan Inochentie Micu (Klein) in the first half of the 18th century, continuing with the books defending the unity of the church Gherontie Cotorea and the historical and language studies of the School of Transylvania (approx. 1775-1821) and up to the romantic and socio-political liberal theories of the 1848 generation.

The communities of Transylvania in the 18th century were religious groups (the catholics, greek-catholics, orthodox, protestants and mosaics) and linguistic groups (the Romanians, Germans, Hungarians). As for the Romanians, they were greek-catholics or orthodox. Through the greco-roman catholicism enter many European ideas. Inochentie Micu-Klein in a first stage, then his disciples in the episcopal chair (greek-catholic) of Blaj, and as well the members of the School of Transylvania, were the promoters of the Romanian identity. They took advantage of the framework that the Habsburgs had created and attended schools in Buda, Vienna, Göttingen, Lemberg, Leipzig, Halle.

The changes that took place in the Hungarian nobility - one of the three favoured "nations" who were leading at that time in Transylvania - in its evolution of the mentality of the state to ethnic, national consciousness, have caused over time significant reactions in Romanian society (Neumann 2009, 11-19).

The main factors that contributed to the formation of the modern Romanian nation, in the vision of the historian Mathias Bernath, were in chronological order: the Religious Union; the reformist policies of Vienna from Maria Tereza to Iosif IInd; the action of Counter-Reformation; the organization of the military frontier: the josephine policy concerning Romanians. Bernath proposed himself to examine the relationship of the Habsburgs - the beginnings of the Romanian nation, beginning with the integrative action of the Court of Vienna that caused the crystallization of national identity of Romanian ethnicity in the modern age and created the framework for the development of social and cultural premises of Romanian nationality (Bernath 1994, preface after Teodor 5).

Decoding effects of the inclusive policy of the Habsburgs who helped to define the Romanian identity brings up for discussion a perspective less practiced by the Transylvanian area historiography. This is why, even today, it is necessary to study the mechanisms of national becoming which evolved from self-awareness to the modern national consciousness.

More precisely, it would be interesting to study not only how the deliberate action of Vienna stimulated the emerging national consciousness, but also to see how the consequences of the Counter-Reformation and the reform in the Romanian environment have stimulated, in conjunction with local circumstances, the assertion of Romanian national consciousness (Bernath 1994, preface after Teodor 5).
The content of the reforms, the tolerance, the concivility, the visits of the Emperor Joseph IInd in Transylvania, the emancipation of the serfs, the creation of a josephine intellectualism helped the new type of national solidarity to be crystallized, but their role should not be exaggerated. During the josephine reforms, consciousness of the Romanians of having acquired a new position in the multi-ethnic Habsburg state is enhanced and this in turn marked the amplitude of the national-political claims that were contained in a well defined program (Bernath 1994, 12).

The claiming program that culminated with the drafting of the famous *Supplex* and had its beginning in the first half of the eighteenth century thanks to the work of Inochentie Micu, Pavel Petru Aron, Gherontie Cotorea and the School of Transylvania reaches a full effervescence in the thinking, writing and action of the major coryphaei: Samuil Micu, Gheorghe Şincai, Petru Maior, Ion Budai Deleanu.

The historian Sorin Mitu, detached himself from the "nationalist" historiographical vision considering that the elements that define the so-called "national values" are often decontextualized, being separated from all other values in which it should have been registered as any elements and are placed in a rigid and artificial axiological hierarchy where they occupie the highest place. His approach seizes the problem of the nation from an outside perspective of its self-legitimizing speech (Mitu 1997, 8).

The study of national self-stereotypes, the specific way in which Romanian society was learning to describe and value itself would be a gateway to the understanding of the national identity genesis, an identity that is fixed and is expressed in the

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cultural discourse, public opinion and social imaginary.
The self-image is configured for the Romanians from Transylvania under the constant pressure of the perceived threat of the other. The collective reflex of defence against these threats favorize the crystallization of a unique self-perception which tends to create compensatory myths for itself (Mitu 1997, 9-10).

Among the theoreticians of Sibiu, who showed a keen interest in the study of Transylvanian identity issues from a perspective of historical anthropology, of history of mentalities, in a prestigious scientific publication of Sibiu as the present one, we ought to remember especially the contribution of Mihaela Grancea (and Alexander Sonoc, in one of his concerns ample directions), from which we quote quite extensively, considering these theoretical contributions conclusive, relevant and actual for analyzing the phenomenon of cultural identity that concern us (Grancea 2002, 73 - 92; Grancea 2006, 247-270; Grancea Sonoc, 1998, 7-20).

A baseline study of the 18th century was conducted by Mihaela Grancea on the process of shaping the Transylvanian identity in early modernity. The Transylvanian identity was formed following the completion of a slow, difficult and fragile process of acceptance, primarily legal of the cultural difference from the Other. (Grancea 2006, 247) The realization of this specific identity of a region with different institutional structures and a particular history was made possible in time only through the interactions imposed by the social and public space of modernity. Europe represents in fact a history of European inter-culturality, it created the civilizational dependency, the cultivation of a public system of codes, symbols, common images with an unifying role, acting as a socio-cultural binder in the geo-cultural and political space consecrated. European history is a succession of harmonies and divisions, the episodes of unity originate in cultural dialogue, the interculturalism in fact coincides with the formation of Europe. (Chaunu 1986) Thus, the migration, the collapse of the Western Roman Empire, the institutional and ethno-cultural syntheses that followed these political and military events have linked a network of institutions, traditions, attitudes and behaviours generated by similar socio-cultural realities (Grancea 2006, 248). The Roman Church and the monarchy had a catalyst role to this phenomenon.

The corridors and cultural bonds of Transylvania made especially with the German world and the Italian Renaissance, were embodied in the words of one superficial but brilliant East European aulic humanism (Theodorescu 1987, II, 207). Transylvanian students were numerous in the Western and Central Europe, from the Renaissance to modernity they represented the active factors in the spread of avant-garde ideas. The affirmation of the print press in the Transylvanian area in Sibiu, Brasov, Cluj, Alba-Iulia, Abrud, Sebes and Orăştie was made in direct relation to the purposes of cultural and confessional Reformed circles. Should not be neglected the nearly 400 prints, with a broad spectrum of approaches and issues (Grancea 2006, 249)
From the beginning of modernity, in Transylvania, as effect of increased societal competition (Ghişe, Teodor 1972), the religious and ethno-cultural multiformity meant an intensification of interculturalism and in some areas even of multiculturalism which implies a juxtaposition of cultures, languages and religions / cults, manifested in a common socio-political space, juxtaposition that imposed the cultivation of the difference, the fluctuating coexistence, sometimes with segregational, secessionists accents (Grancea 2006, 250).

The three ethnic entities living in historical and "multinational" Transylvania also proposed three national mythologies. Thus, for the Romanians, Transylvania was and is considered the cradle of ethnogenesis.

Traditionally, the Romanian men of letters presented and present the Romanian people as descendants of the soldiers and settlers of Trajan and Transylvania as the land of a Romanian heroism (Miskolczy 1996, 65).

For Hungarians and Szeklers, Transylvania was and is considered an essential element in the definition of national identity and after 1918 it became "the great national wound remained unhealed", a term that is part of the daily approach of the theme by Hungarians from everywhere The conquest of the Transylvanian area which received the name Erdély was ideologized, mythologized and perceived as a civilizing action stimulated by the apostolic project, more actively especially after the formalization of the Great Schism. For Saxons, *Siebenbürgen* evoke the fortifications they had raised at the invitation of Hungarian kings, but also a certain loss of the historical memory, this "forgetfulness" of identity that has caused Saxons scholars up to Frank von Frankeistein to consider themselves as indigenous in Transylvania and the Romanians only as survivors of the Roman

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colonists (Grancea 2006, 251; Nägler 1992; Tătar 2011, 313).

Only starting from this ethno-genetic point of view, of Saxons like the fictional descendants of the Dacians, through the Goths as germanic nation, they assessed the romanity of Romanians. From these polymorphic and antagonistic explanations of the primordiality of an ethnic group or another in the Transylvanian space also derived the mythical dimension of perception of Transylvania as a zone of political and cultural conflict. In this way, the ethno-symbolic perception of Transylvania does not enter into the category of specific representations of coexistence myths. From the point of view of civilizational models interaction, Transylvania appears as a double periphery, a problem-zone, a border area between different cultures, religions, an option or a political subdivision (Grancea 2006, 253).

Miskolczy Ambrus, representative of the Hungarian vision, provides the explanation of the legal basis of tolerance as an expression of "accepting" the Other in the same physical space, less public, which was due to Ottoman authority exercised for some time in the Principality of Transylvania (Miskolczy 1996, 64-66). In Transylvania, where there were the three "political nations " the nobles, the Szeklers and the Saxons, only the latter two were nations also in ethnic sense (****Transilvania şi saşii ardeleni în istoriografie,* 2001).

The reform extended to all privileged nations, has overcome the resistance of Catholic circles, because at the Saxons and particularly at Szeklers the "political nation" was largely superposed over the ethnic community, benefiting from the solidarity created by the cultural identity.

In this way, the Protestant confessions: the Evangelical, the Unitarian, the Calvinist - have also become "accepted", enjoying the freedom and equal treatment with the Catholic one and their believers, belonging to a political nation, and all the rights conferred by this status. Facilitating intellectual communication, the Reformation helped to strengthen the self-awareness of the people by gradual separation of the medieval universalism. (Grancea 2006, 252).

Using as religious language the spoken, "national" languages, the confessions have broken for the first time the monopoly of the Latin language, have strengthened the bonds between the states of the same ethnicity, creating specific solidarities and eroding the "international" traditional solidarity which functioned in the privileged states, in the space of the traditional church.

It follows that the specificity of the Transylvanian Saxon communities was ensured precisely by the preservation of solidarity by involving the masses of peasants, who represented the ethnic survival, preserving the freedom and rejecting the attempts to put them in the state of serfdom (Göllner 1985, 277-280). The Szeklers, as free people with a strong ethnic solidarity, emotionally connected to the more isolated territory where they were concentrated, separated themselves from other Transylvanian communities, firstly based on their ethnic identity, the ennobled Szekler leaders identified themselves with the first nation, that of nobility (Gheran-Mewes 1985, 267-276).
The nobility was originally, as we had already shown, heterogeneous ethnically and homogeneous culturally, and it remains always heterogeneous, but in a religious relation rather than an ethnic one.

Mihaela Grancea also showed that the Orthodox, deprived of a secular elite, have operated as a united group, as a solidary religious community, the membership to orthodoxy being the foundation of identity, the existence in Orthodoxy, being perceived as Law and imposed as a condition of collective redemption. The establishment of the *religious identity* of Orthodox issues, because they represented *the strongest identitary component*, occurred in macro-territorial plan around monasteries, and locally, in local churches and schools more numerous in the 18th century (Grancea 2006, 254).

It is important to note that even if self-consciousness was characterized by a such traditionalism, assuming an often tragic past and being marginalized, the Romanian national ideology was not chauvinistic because Romanians did not ask but their rights, the enter the community of the rest of Transylvanian "nations", but without claiming a civilizing or acculturational mission, ideological position that would have determined the Romanian to offensive approaches, even radical of the status of the Romanian "nation" in Transylvania.

The memorialization, in the Saxon and Hungarian culture, through its syncretism, by its references to the identitary space, contributes to the cultivation of the history and its archival and documentary sources, as sources of institutional and institutionalized legitimations. Thus, also the Saxons were preoccupied by the anthology and creation of the first archives from the need to certify the political and legal identity.

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Samuil Micu applies to the struggle for political and social rights the Wolffian principle of sufficient reason, considering that the people, becoming conscient of its Latin origin, of its belonging to a superior civilization and of a history based on the exercise of political freedom, will be mobilized to gain their legitimate rights (Blaga 1966, 35).

The anti-dogmatic mentality of rationalist nature was the one that emphasized the natural rights during the Enlightenment.

With regard to the Saxon identity, Tröster considers that the city is defining for the existence of the Saxon nation. These theories of Tröster and Mil are developed by Lorencz Töpplet in *Origine set occasus Transsylvanorum seu erutae nationes Transsylvaniae earumgue ultimi temporis revolutiones, historica narratione breviter comprehensae*. (Grancea 2006, 261).

Frank von Franckenstein, in *Breviculus originum nationum et precipue Saxonicae in Transsilvania* (Sibiu 1696), dismantles the theory of Daco-Gothic origin of the Saxons and launches the theory of Saxon origin, saying they are the descendants of German settlers brought by King Géza II and are privileged by the *Andreanum* diploma. The theory of the illustrious origin of the Saxons was known through the two variants Dacian and German as well in the official and cultural circles of Europe.

Peoples genealogy is a complex and sensitive topic of pre-modern historiography and has to be seen in the light of the period when it was written, and not through the exigences of modern historiography or of later political concerns. The birth and evolution of these genealogies also raises issues of historiography history, literature, political history, mentalities, cultural relations and theology. Romanians, Hungarians and Szeklers had a treatment starting from the same history of their origin; but the Saxons had different genealogies that all had a common core in the 17th century. The genealogies part is common to Judeo-Christian tradition and thus it was part of the culture of any Christian scholar, many genealogies starting with extra-biblical ancestors. Thus, Romanians genealogy is the simplest and constant, they being considered descendants of Roman settlers. The most significant evidence brought up is the Romanian language, very similar to the Latin and Italian. This method has not changed, being used by humanists, but also by the scholars of the 17th century and later. The origin of Hungarians and Szeklers, believed to be related or identical peoples, is like that of the Romanians, treated relatively simple by the historiography of the period, starting with the humanists, Hungarians and Szeklers were considered descendants of Scythians. But between Scythians and Hungarians/Szeklers interposed another people, the Huns, considered to be the direct ancestor of these two communities, distinguished between themselves only through their political and legal identity (Szegedi 2003, 321-334).

The Hungarian historiography creation is dominated by the traditionalist chronistic oriented to event logging, being representative the *Historiajo* (1662-1711) of Cserei Mihaly, a work that is the main source of documentary knowledge of the last decades of political history of the Principality (Grancea 2006, 262). The personalities of the time have become the most active factors of enlightenment which generated and applied the representative ideas of the age and the institutional cultural forms of tradition - the congregations, academies, universities, press, libraries, cabinets of curiosities, school which was subject to a process of secularization, Church.

For the Saxon nation was necessary to impose as objectives to keep the traditional constitutional status, the development of the city as a socio-normative balanced system, based on the preservation of medieval urban identity, but also on the modernization of public utilities imposed by the imperial program of reconstruction as well on the important architectural and pictorial models of the world of Austrian Baroque in the Transylvanian area (Szegedi 2006, 102). The urban society of Sibiu was under the categorical influence of the Vienna lifestyle, through daily contact with the Austrian officials and the military lodged in Sibiu (Niedermaier 1979, 32). The German travellers, in the mid 18th century, spoke about the Saxon identity with Germanophobe pride, as Johann Lehmann, man of the theatre, who called the sibiens "Germans fellows from Transylvania", reflecting the perception of a common identity, whereas proof of the beginning of the manifestation of a cultural pre-Pan-Germanism (Grancea 2006, 264).

The collective portrait of the Saxon nation, identity and status implies socio-legal aspects, traditions, sociability, the civilization of gestures, attitudes and economic behaviour, cultural options and a specific ethno-type. For the period in question, we do not speak of a national identity, but of a civism whose core was loyalty to the kingdom.

In the second half of the eighteenth century, the identity problem will come back on the first plan.

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The re-conceptualization of the theme of identity will be noticed in the assimilation of the concept of ethno-culture, moment which led to the redefinition of the socio-economic and politico-administrative status of the groups who inhabited the Empire.

The formation of national identities was a modern process, it began in the late 18th century and acquired a social and political importance in the following centuries. As with other formations of collective identity, it is due and is influenced by certain groups of carriers (the intellectuals and the bourgeoisie), being the result of a combination of factors or primary symbols (historical, territorial, linguistic, ethnic) and political boundaries. A feature of all modern national movements is the ratio of the specific-key component and the religious-universal component, which remains at the basis of the differentiation process of national identities. After this was imposed as well the interaction between political and cultural poles specific to the training process of collective identities. An analysis of the process of establishing the cultural and national identity among the Romanians from Transylvania should take into account, in the opinion of some historians, the renunciation at stereotypes inherited from the traditional Romanian historiography from the Romanian historical research of romantic orientation from the 19th century , which in turn has undertaken ways of interpreting specific to French historiography romanticism (Grancea, Sonoc 1998, 7; Roth 1998, 75, Neumann 2003, 101-107).

The historian Sorin Mitu from Cluj, from the youngest important generation of Romanian historiography after 1989, showed that, in general, the contributions of historiographical reference of David Prodan, Pompiliu Teodor, Nicolae Bocşan (Bocşan 1997), Camil Mureşan (Mureşan 1996) and Ladislau Gyémánt to I. Tóth Zoltán, Keith Hitchins, Mathias Bernath or Emanuel Turczynski evidenced the specificity of the formation process of national solidarity in Transylvania during the 18th century and the beginning of the next one. The Romanians from Transylvania had, at the beginning of the modern era, a different vision of the nation, when they speak of "we the Romanians," they name with this term the entire nation, but the way how they see it it's unique. This specificity of local reality marked unmistakable the self-image they built (Mitu 1997, 9).

The central-European Enlightenment was born and developed in a specific political and social reality in the Habsburg Empire. It determined distinct and specific developments in the mittel-european Enlightenment, in contrary with the western one - French and English. It practically reflects the local conditions, relationships and social, economic and political hierarchies, taking different forms and promoting distinct ideals and has matured differently depending on the specific realities of Poland, Serbia, Slovakia, Transylvania and Hungary (Stanciu 2007, 195).

Overall, we can say that there was a common platform of the mittel-european Enlightenment, determined and sustained by the reformist integrative politic of the Court of Vienna, who posed the ideal of emancipation of the Enlightenment in a written form, but focused on a certain reality and reflecting the social needs. So we have a common ideological and ideational framework of central-European Enlightenment, but with specific cultural manifestations and various additional forms of expression.

A verdict as "provincial culture" that would not have had a decisive contribution to the profile of the culture of the Enlightenment in Central Europe may become an inadequate explanation and apparently tendentious to understand this cosmopolitan and multivalent mittel-european world which structured its mentality and modern culture precisely during the age of Enlightenment.

The concept of "uninteresting culture" was contradicted throughout time by the interest of various historians shown for the Romanian area of the Enlightenment that could filter and synthesize, through its own original creations, the different and sometimes contradictory influences from the Occident and Orient. It can be given only one example, the School of Transylvania, which personalities and creations overcame the cultural complexes generated naturally by the handicap of a regional culture. This was the generation that took and gave at the same time to European culture the originality and colour for development in the specific parameters of multiculturalism and tolerance of modern Transylvanian world (Stanciu 2007, 195).

According to some Hungarian, German authors, the ethnocentric vision, different from that of interculturality, claims to defend the untainted specificity by external influences of their own national culture. In fact however, it's true, the identity of any national culture can not be considered "pure". There were moments in history (and after some beliefs there still are!) in which this identity being felt to be threatened is even more imperative to be expressed. But in the Transylvanian area, no culture was established,

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preserved or developed in an autarchic manner. Theoretically, the mutual valorical influences enrich and do not damage the cultural identity of each people. Thus, the thesis according to which we should guide ourselves would be: "We cherish each other at the same time for something that we have in common and for what sets us apart" (Roth 1999, 245, Firczak 2000, 91-115). However, there is distinguished the opinion that for the countries and peoples of Central-East, Eastern and Southern Europe, the difficulties of such integration originate not only from their coverage for several decades, in the second half of the 20th century, during the totalitarian communist regime, but also from a certain general historical delay in the process of modernization of their social structures. According to some Hungarian authors, the end of World War I led to an "aggressive, isolationist nationalism, even to the exaltation of specificity against interculturalism" (Roth 1999, 246). Historical reality is that it was considered from the same reasons, due to the fact that for a long time in the Transylvanian area, the Rumanian cultural identity could not be expressed by its own means, that the interwar period was somehow one of rehabilitation. A finding could be highlighted, namely the recognition of identity as a value throughout which each ethnic group contributes with its own voice, unique and unrepeatable, to the universal concert of values, should be separated from ethnocentric and ethnocratic mentality postulating the superiority or even the supremacy of its own national-cultural identity over those of the "others". These attitudes "undermine multiculturalism and justify discrimination" (Roth 1999, 252). Today, in the era of globalization, increasingly expanding the matter towards other cultural areas as well, according to these views, the acceptance of European cultural identity does not imply, by all means, the complete identification with an external entity, giving up their own identity, but rather the acceptance of multiple identities. Things evolve under the cultural aspect to a "heterogeneous European community".

Cultural models defined as global, unitary and inclusive synthesis of phenomena, facts or goods and cultural values, with character of formal representation of these, get into a situation of confrontation between the traditional communities, in this case rural, and those modern or postmodern of urban type. But we start from the pertinent observation that what is important for defining the identity of a group by the stage of inventory of the whole of it's distinctive cultural features (ethnographic approach) is tracking among them especially those *used* by group members to assert and maintain a cultural distinction (ethnological approach); the publicly expressed opinion, that: "There is no identity in itself, not even for itself!" has to be reinforced by the belief that it, the identity, is always a relationship with another identity "(anthropologic approach of alterity). More recently, identity looses more and more from its static and unique character, the emphasis being shifted more and more on the ideas of negotiation, category, multiplicity, imagination, fluidity (Marc 2008, 225).

The expansion of the attributes of the globalization processes, whether it is dressed in positive or negative manifesting aspects, it denaturize quickly and often irreversible the traditional characteristics specific to every culture, the "alternative of escape" from the "worldwide society" being increasingly restricted. Also, a "demanding analysis of contemporary communities demonstrates the existence of this plurality of identity, perception and cultural discourse, so that globalization phenomenon can not be treated as a socio-cultural homogenization, but rather as a diversification of the cultural horizon, composed of components specific to all ethnicities." However, the "conculture", it thus does not involves waivers to its own identity or ethnosofy or to the main characteristics of identity. The main identitary codes are becoming congruent with community mentalities which propagate them, receiving values of material symbols which individualize and mark the characteristics of a nation, ethnic group or community, within larger frameworks, of contemporary multicultural society (Cobianu 2007, 17)

These are just some characteristics of the construction process of Transylvanian cultural identity, found in some theories, debates, past and relatively recent problematizations that I highlighted briefly in order to resume in a new reading the regional, national and European history which could be also to identify and recognize cultural ambivalences pre-existent to the modern statehood

As already mentioned, the definition of Europe has been and has remained a source of controversy, but that does not precludes alternative historico-theoretical evaluations*.

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Teodor 1984	Teodor, Pompiliu, *Interferenţe iluministe europene* (1984), Cluj-Napoca.
***	*Transilvania şi saşii ardeleni în istoriografie,* Sibiu (2001).

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LIST OF ABREVIATIONS

ActaArchHung	Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, Budapest.
ACS	Asociația culturală Sarmizegetusa.
ActaMN	Acta Musei Napocensis, Cluj-Napoca.
ActaMP	Acta Musei Porolissensis, Zalău.
Angustia	Angustia, Sfântu Gheorghe
AnB(SN)	Analele Banatului, Serie nouă, Timişoara.
Annales UA	Annales Universitatis Apulensis
Apulum	Acta Musei Apulensis, Alba Iulia.
Archeologické Rozhledy	Archeologicke Rozhledy, Praga
ArchErt	Archaeologiai Értesitö, Budapest.
Arheologia-	Arheologia, Sofia.
ATS	Acta Terrae Septemcastrensis, Sibiu
BAM	Brvkenthal Acta Mvsei, Sibiu
BAR	Brittish Archaeological Reports
BB	Bibliotheca Brukenthal, Sibiu.
BCSS	Buletinul Cercurilor Ştiinţifice Studenţeşti. Arheologie – Istorie – Muzeologie, Alba Iulia.
BMA	Bibliotheca Musei Apulensis, Alba Iulia.
CetDacTrans	Cetăţi dacice din Sudul Transilvaniei, Bucureşti.
ComArchHung	Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungaricae
Corviniana	Corviniana. Acta Musei Corvinensis, Hunedoara.
Crisia	Tara Crisurilor Museum, Oradea
Dacia	Dacia. Revue d'archeologie et d'histoire ancienne, Nouvelle Série, Bucharest.
Dolgozatok	Dolgozatok, Szeged
EJA	European Journal of Archeology, Oxford.
FolArch	Folia Archaeologica, Budapest.
Gumowski	Marian Gumowski, *Handbuch der polnischen Numismatik*, Graz, 1960.
Huszár	Lajos Huszár, *Münzkatalog Ungarn: von 1000 bis heute*, München, 1979.
Izvestia	Izvestija na Narodnija Muzej Varna
Martin	Ferenc Martin, *Kolonialprägungen aus Moesia Superior und Dacia*, Budapesta – Bonn, 1992.
Materiale	Materiale şi cercetări arheologice, Bucureşti.
MBR	G. Buzdugan, O. Luchian, C. C. Oprescu, *Monede şi bancnote româneşti*, Bucureşti, 1977.
MCA	Archaeological materials and researches, Bucharest.
PBF	Prähistorische Bronzefunde, München.
Rengjeo	Ivan Rengjeo, *Corpus der mittelalterichen Münzen von Kroatien, Slavonien, Dalmatien und Bosnien*, Graz, 1959.
RepAlba	Repertoriul arheologic al judeţului Alba, 1995.
RepArhSB	Sabin Adrian Luca, Zeno-Karl Pinter, Adrian Georgescu, *Repertoriul arheologic al judeţului Sibiu*, Sibiu, 2003.
RIC	Harold Mattingly, Edward A. Sydenham, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, III, London, 1930.
RMMMIA	Revista muzeelor şi monumentelor. Monumente istorice şi de artă, Bucureşti.
SCIV(A)	Studii şi Comunicări de Istorie Veche şi Arheologie, Bucureşti.
SlovArch	Slovenská Archeológia, Nitra
StudArchHis-	Studia Archaeologica et Historica. Nicolao Gudea Dicata. Bibliotheca Musei Porolissensis IV/2001, Zalău.
Symposia Thracologica	Symposia Thracologica, Bucureşti.

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Thraco-Dacica	Thraco-Dacica. Institutul Roman de Tracologie, Bucureşti
WCoins a	C. R. Bruce II (ed.), *Standard Catalog of World Coins. Seventeenth Century. 1601 - 1700*, 4th ed., Iola, 2008.
WCoins b	C. R. Bruce II (ed.), *Standard Catalog of World Coins. Eighteenth Century. 1701 – 1800*, 3rd ed., Iola, 2002.
Ziridava	Ziridava, Arad.

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1959-1989	Studii şi comunicări Muzeul Brukenthal, Sibiu 1956, nr. 1 1965, nr. 12 1967, nr. 13 Volum omagial, Anuarul Muzeului Brukenthal, 1817-1967 1969, nr. 14 1973, nr. 18 1975, nr. 19 1977, nr. 20 1981, nr. 21	Studii şi comunicări Muzeul Brukenthal, Sibiu 1956, nr. 4, 5 1956, nr. 7 Istoria culturii 1978, nr. 1 1979, nr. 2	Studii şi comunicări Muzeul Brukenthal, Sibiu 1958, nr. 10, 11 1970, nr. 15 1971, nr. 16 1972, nr. 17 1973, nr. 18 1975, nr. 19 1976, nr. 20 1977, nr. 21 1978, nr. 22 1979, nr. 23 1980, nr. 24 + Supliment 1983, nr. 25 + Supliment 1984, nr. 26 1998, nr. 27 2003, nr. 28 2004, nr 29 + Supliment		Studii şi comunicări Muzeul Brukenthal, Sibiu 1956, nr. 2, 3, 6 1958, nr. 8, 9 Cibinium, Studii şi materiale privind Muzeul tehnicii populare din Dumbrava Sibiului, Sibiu 1966, vol I 1967/68, vol II 1969/73, vol III 1974/78, vol IV 1979/83, vol V
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